



**Changing hearts
and minds**
THE LAST WORD p 46



**Researching
'counter-jihadism'**
ANALYSIS p 16

**Jobbik
on the march**
HUNGARY p 34



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March-April 2013

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HOPE not hate

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Reshaping the political map

UKIP's second place in the Eastleigh by-election is sending shockwaves through the British political establishment. Their 27% of the vote follows on from the 22% they polled in Rotherham and 14.3% in Corby. In opinion polls they are battling for third place with the Liberal Democrats.

What makes the Eastleigh result even more troubling for the Conservative Party is that they ran a right wing campaign, with tough messages on Europe and immigration, precisely to try to limit the UKIP vote.

So where will the Conservatives go now? Will they decide that this strategy to undermine UKIP does not work so they should stick to focusing on the centre ground of British politics or will they lurch even more to the right? With the European Elections fast approaching, and UKIP in with a great chance of coming first, my guess is that they will move rightwards.

This will certainly be the desire of many of their MPs and members.

And what about Labour? Despite their concerns over how voters view them on immigration there have been encouraging signs that Ed Miliband has been resisting lurching to the right. Certainly, his speech on immigration and integration last December made it appear that Labour was positioning itself to be the progressive party.

However, Labour's poor vote in Eastleigh is already unnerving some in the party and as *HOPE not hate* goes to print Ed Miliband is preparing a 'tough' speech on immigration. Labour, too, looks likely to shift to the right.

Irrelevant

UKIP's growing support is a disaster for the BNP and the plethora of other miniscule groups on the British far right. While they violently squabble

among themselves they are becoming increasingly irrelevant, at least in the short-term.

The one winner from UKIP's surge might just be the Liberal Democrats. They are unlikely to shift to the right on immigration and while they have lost a lot of their more progressive support because of their involvement in the Coalition Government, they might just win some of this back if they stand firm and reject a lurch to the right.

Tougher messages on immigration and migration will please many voters but it will also put off others. While of course many people are genuinely worried about immigration it is important that parties do not deal with immigration in isolation to wider issues.

A more courageous position would be to offer an alternative view of Britain to that peddled by UKIP. A vision that accepts the realities of the modern world, that embraces change and, crucially, and offers a better economic future for those who are currently losing out. Economic pessimism is a key driver for cultural anxieties and fear of others.

Over the last month *HOPE not hate* has had the pleasure of hosting Carlos Saavedra. His personal story (p28), and that of the United We Dream organisation he helped to run, should be an inspiration to us all that anything is possible when we are focused and organised.

This positivity is also summed up by Sajda Mughal who, in *The Last World* (p46) describes how she turned her back on a career in the city to help others.

UKIP could well set the political agenda over the next 18 months. *HOPE not hate* will be working with others to offer an alternative, more positive view of Britain.

INSIDE

PAGE 20



THE FORMATION OF THE BRITISH DEMOCRATIC PARTY

PAGE 28



YOUNG AND UNDOCUMENTED CARLOS SAAVEDRA INTERVIEW

PAGE 36



FASCISM IN RUSSIA: AN UNPLEASANT WAKE-UP CALL?

6 Home News

EDL drug dealer is jailed

7 UK at a glance

Racist attacks sick boy aged 10

7 UK at a glance

EDL leader released from jail

8 News From Europe

'Blue' Nazis gather in Madrid

9 Europe at a glance

Wilders campaign targets mosques

10 World News

Nazi's bomb stash 'for killing'

11 Guest Column

Sunder Katwala on inclusive London

12 Special Report

UKIP, their politics and their allies

16 Online crusaders

Researching counter-jihadism

18 Birmingham bomb plot

Lessons to be learnt

20 Investigation

British Democrat Party unmasked

24 Charting Changes

What the census says about Britain

26 Beds in Sheds

Undocumented are the real victims

28 The DREAMer

Interview with Carlos Saavedra

31 Lessons from History

70th anniversary of Stalingrad

32 Making pig's ear of it

Far-right scare tactics in Leicester

34 Jobbik on the march

Rise of racist party in Hungary

38 France: a country in focus

40 Group in Focus

English National Resistance analysed

42 Table talk

Friends of HOPE not hate diner

43 White Noise

Hate music of far-right

44 Election analysis

Battles ahead for campaigners

47 Changing hearts and minds

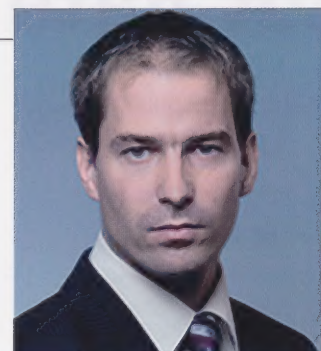
'How 7/7 changed my life'

CONTRIBUTORS



SUNDER KATWALA

Sunder Katwala, Director of British Future, goes behind the headlines in the Census and discusses the changing face of England and Wales and the need for developing a shared future together.



PÉTER KREKÓ

Péter Krekó is Director of the Political Capital Institute in Budapest. In On the March, Péter analyses the rise of Jobbik in Hungary and in particular their appeal amongst young people.



SAJDA MUGHAL

Sajda Mughal is the only known Muslim survivor of the 7/7 terrorist bombings and in The Last Word she talks about how she is now committing her life to bringing communities together.

HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 50,000 followers on Facebook.

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EDL Drug Dealer Jailed After Razor Attack

A DRUG-DEALING EDL member has been jailed for 11 years after attacking two men with a cut throat razor.

Marcus Ward, 26, from Middleton, Manchester attended an EDL demonstration which took place in Bolton in March 2010. After the demo, Ward along with other EDL members entered the Oddfellows public house in Middleton. They were soon asked to leave by the pub landlord after they became rowdy and disruptive.

The EDL mob attacked the landlord, punching and kicking him in the face.

Two men attempted to help the landlord when Ward launched his attack with the razor. One victim received a large cut to the back of the head and a cut lip. The other man received a number of razor slashes running from the left shoulder to his back. One wound was so serious he needed surgery.



Ward was on bail for firearms offences at the time of the attack. He was caught with a pistol and a sawn-off shotgun with rounds of ammunition during a police search of his home.

He was sentenced to a total of 11 years imprisonment, with six-and-a-half years concurrent for possession of a firearm, possession of ammunition,

possession of a shotgun and possession of cannabis with intent to supply, and four-and-a-half years concurrent for two charges of section 18 wounding and possession of an offensive weapon, namely a cut-throat razor and violent disorder.

Ward went on the run for two-and-a-half years following the attack only handing himself in to police in September 2012.

English Democrat Mayor Quits Party

PETER DAVIES (pictured below), the English Democrat mayor of Doncaster, has quit the party claiming there has been a big influx of new members joining from the British National Party.

Davies, who was elected in 2009 and is the father of Philip Davies, Conservative MP for Shipley, has vowed to continue in office as an independent until elections in May 2013.

It is known that Davies has been unhappy for some time telling the BBC: "All seemed to be well until about 18 months ago when it became clear more members of the BNP were being hoovered up by the party leadership. It seemed odd to say the least and, to me personally, unacceptable. I realised things were heading in a direction I didn't want them to go in."

The English Democrats were soon to go on the offensive, claiming that it was not certain that they would have selected Davies to stand again.



BNP Election Misery Continues

HAMMERSMITH AND FULHAM voters dealt the BNP a severe bloody nose at a by election that took place in February.

A byelection was called in the Wormholt and White City ward of Hammersmith and Fulham council following death of Labour councillor Jean Campbell in November 2012.

The BNP candidate Andrew Donald only managed an embarrassing 45 votes, finishing in last place with a tiny 2.1%

Meanwhile, over in The Black Country a byelection took place for the Wollaston & Stourbridge Town ward of Dudley Metropolitan Borough Council following the death of the former Mayor of Dudley Councillor Malcolm Knowles, who died last October.

Standing for the BNP was veteran fascist Ken Griffiths, who has only recently rejoined the party after he defected to the National Front.

Griffiths could only manage a meagre 96 votes (4%) finishing in 6th place,

beating only the Green Party.

The BNP website has failed to mention the pair of crushing defeats which also saw their hated rivals UKIP once again easily beat the BNP in both elections.

It has been four years since the BNP last won a byelection.

Robin Tilbrook, leader of The English Democrats, denies that the party had been infiltrated by the BNP, despite the fact that almost 43% of their candidates in the 2012 local elections were recently members of the BNP.





The Bishop of Middleton signs the Manchester pledge

City stands TOGETHER

A VIGIL was held at Manchester Cathedral on 1 March to make clear the widespread opposition of the people of Manchester to the uninvited and unwelcome presence of the EDL, who were due to march the following day.

Over 100 people were present from all walks of life.

The Bishop of Manchester, representatives of all faith groups, Councillors, community representatives and trade unionists signed a huge banner to support the HOPE not hate Pledge. Council Leader Richard Leese, Kevan Nelson, UNISON Regional Secretary and Councillor Afzal Khan were among the many who explained to those gathered why they were proud of Manchester and rejected the politics of hate represented by the EDL.

Yorkshire EDL Gang Jailed

A VIOLENT gang of EDL activists from the Bradford area have been jailed following violence that erupted after an EDL demonstration last year in the Kirklees area of West Yorkshire.

Kevin Angelo Docherty, 29, admitted charges of violent disorder and racially aggravated criminal damage and was jailed for 14 months. Robert Adrian Collington, 27, and Mark Peel, 24, were given 12 months each for violent disorder, while David Kenneth Lawler, 30, was given a 13-month sentence for the same offence.

Also jailed for violent disorder was Ben Phelps, 19, who received 10 months, while Steven Philip Woodhead, 33, was given four months for racially aggravated common assault. A 17-year-old youth who cannot be named for legal reasons received a 12-month youth rehabilitation order.

The violence followed a demonstration that took place in the town of Cleckheaton.

Police were called to respond to reports that a shop window had been smashed, then at around 4pm police received reports of disorder in the nearby town of Dewsbury.

The EDL members racially abused and attacked Asian men, leaving one requiring hospital treatment.

EDL Leader Released From Prison

STEPHEN LENNON, leader of the English Defence League, has been released from prison following his conviction in January for entering the USA on a false passport.

Lennon pleaded guilty at Southwark Crown Court to possession of a false identity document with improper intention after he travelled to the USA in September 2012, and was sentenced to 10 months imprisonment, but immediately applied for release on home detention curfew.

Lennon will have to be electronically tagged and will also have to adhere to a number of other restrictions including restrictions involving his EDL activities.

Lennon, who also uses the name Tommy Robinson, was previously jailed for assault in 2005 and has previous convictions for drugs offences and a number of public order offences.

Following his release, the EDL leader said he would like to spend time with his family and asked EDL supporters to "respect his wish for privacy, and respect his need for a little time away from the EDL so he can get his life back on track".

His freedom maybe short-lived, however, as he has also been charged with three counts of conspiracy to commit fraud by false representation in relation to a mortgage application.



Boy With Leukaemia Attacked By Racist

A 10-YEAR-OLD BOY with leukaemia was head butted and knocked unconscious when a man launched a vicious racist attack as he walked home with friends from a leisure centre.

The child, who had just received chemotherapy, had stopped in the street as he felt unwell and spat out his chewing gum only for a passing motorist to stop and attack him.

The schoolboy, originally from Somalia, was chased and remembers being racially abused before stopping and being attacked by the man.

The boy gave evidence at Glasgow Sheriff Court at the trial of 26-year-old John Cassidy, who was accused of assaulting the boy on 16 October, 2011.

He told the jury he was diagnosed with leukaemia in 2009 and was still receiving chemotherapy and medication in 2011.

The court was told that since the attack the boy has been scared to go outside, in fear of attack and that the entire family has moved to London.

Cassidy was found guilty of assault and will be sentenced at a later date.

Newborn Baby Placed In Care Because Of Neo Nazi Father

A MOTHER from Warwickshire has had her newborn baby taken off her hours after giving birth because of her violent boyfriend's links to racist groups.

The mother herself was not seen as a threat and had no history of violence but had her baby removed from hospital after it emerged the child's father had links with criminals and the violent far right group Combat 18.

The child has since been placed into temporary foster care and has so far had no contact with its parents.

The local authority responsible for the boy, argued the mother has a "submissive personality" and is "putty in the hands" of her partner, who has convictions for violent crimes and who had previously "held a knife to her throat".

The parents had been warned the baby was likely to be taken into care because of the father's violence.

In return, the father of the boy warned he could muster an army of 200 skinheads to kidnap the child if he was taken into care.

The father's threat was deemed a credible one by the local authority and it appears it was the reason why the child was secretly removed from hospital without telling the mother.

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/ scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Investigation: The Battle for Britain page 20



EUROPE | European racist network meets in Geneva

FROM JEAN-YVES CAMUS IN PARIS

SEVERAL EXTREME-right wing movements met in Switzerland in January under the aegis of Europäische Aktion/ Action Européenne (EA). This élitist outfit, founded in 2010, is led by the German-speaking Swiss, Bernhard Schaub, who addressed the infamous 2006 Holocaust-denial conference in Tehran, Iran.

The new group has correspondents in Austria and Germany and the nazi Richard Edmonds and Lady Michelle Renouf are listed as its UK contacts. The Geneva meeting was aimed at building an 'Identity' network whose members include the Thule Seminar

(Germany), Terre et Peuple (France), Tierra y Pueblo (Spain) and Terra e Povo (Portugal).

Pierre Krebs and Pierre Vial insist that unlike the Bloc identitaire or the Front National, they do not want to become mainstream, acknowledging that the event was about building a *völkisch*, or 'ethno-nationalist' movement. Vial ended his speech with the Waffen SS motto 'My honour is loyalty'.

EA recycles articles from the *Courrier du Continent*, published in Lausanne (Switzerland) by Gaston-Armand Amaudruz, former organ of the nazi New European Order.

GERMANY | Apfel shaken to his core

FROM CHRISTIAN DORNBUSCH FOR DER RECHTE RAND AND ANTIFA-NET IN BERLIN

HOLGER APFEL'S takeover of the nazi National Democratic Party (NPD) ended the reign of former party boss Udo Voigt. Apfel's aim was to copy the example of Nick Griffin's BNP, touring Germany last July with his own 'Lies lorry' and organising rallies in 52 cities.

Press coverage, however, was negative. The party staged 22 rallies in two weeks ahead of January's regional elections in Lower Saxony. Any hopes that voters would back its campaigns against the euro and benefits cuts crumbled, with just 0.8 percent voting NPD.



Apfel's opponents have published an appeal for the creation of Friends of Udo Voigt Circles under the motto 'Unity is strength – only organized will means power'.

These words recall that Voigt, as NPD chief, sought integration of the entire extreme-right into the party. One of the first to sign was convicted criminal Thorsten Heise who sat on the party executive and was its key link to hardcore nazis. Rigolf Henning, active in Holocaust denial outfit European Action, also signed.

SPAIN | Homage to Nazi Blue Division in Madrid

FROM SANDRA CORTÉS IN MADRID FOR ANTIFEIXISTES.ORG

JUST OVER 1000 people demonstrated in Madrid in February to honour *División 250*, the so-called Spanish Blue Division, combatants who fought for Hitler on the Eastern Front against the USSR in World War II.

Falangist, fascist and nazi groups, including National Revolutionary

Action/ANR and Nudo Patriota Español, marched. Nazi flags – banned in Spain – and symbols of Franco's fascist dictatorship were displayed.

The march ended at Almudena cemetery where there used to be a memorial to the German airmen of the Nazi Condor Legion, who bombed Spain during the Civil War. The monument was removed last year at the request of the German embassy but against the opposition of the ruling conservative Popular Party, which maintains a revisionist version of the history of Spain, denying Franco's genocide and keeping fascist symbols in many Spanish cities and towns.



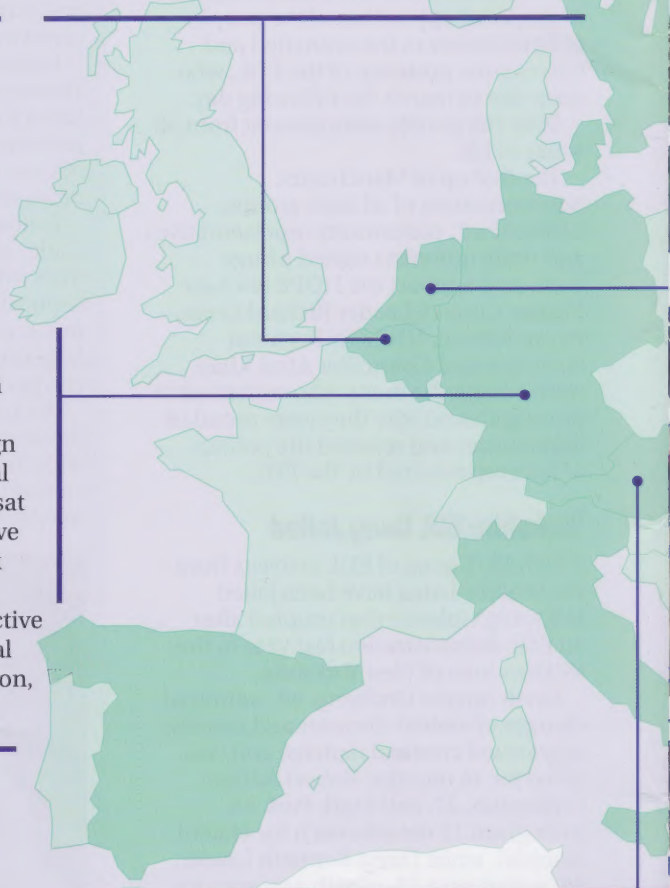
BELGIUM | VB a sinking ship

BY WIM HAELSTERMAN FOR AFF-VERZET/ RÉSISTANCES IN BRUSSELS.

THE FAR-RIGHT Vlaams Belang (VB) celebrated New Year on a 'party boat' moored on a Brussels canal. The unusual location and low attendance demonstrated the declining popularity of the Flemish nationalist party.

The boat inspired jokes about sinking ships and the Titanic. "We're not on the Titanic at all, we're here because this is the closest we could get to the royal palace", said party chairman Gerolf Annemans.

The VB no longer demands annexation of the Belgian capital but wants it to be an autonomous region within a future Flemish state. The style and language used by the new chairman was miles away from the aggressive "anti-everything" VB speeches Flemish people are used to.



AUSTRIA | Far right ball loses face

FROM MARTIN JORDAN FOR UNITED IN VIENNA

THE ANNUAL ballroom dancefest of Austria's pan-Germanist, far-right student fraternities in the former Imperial Palace and official residence of the Austrian president in Vienna in February, has lost its former buzz. As a result of protests in previous years, the event changed its name and organiser in a bid to shed its bad reputation as a networking event of the European far-right.

But it seems that the new organiser, the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), contributed little to the ball's attractiveness. In contrast to past years, no right-wing 'celebrities' – such as Marine Le Pen (French Front National), Kent Ekeröth (Sweden Democrats) or Philip Claeys (Vlaams Belang) –



Stefan Jacobsson. Photo: David Lagerlot/Expo

SWEDEN | New führer for Swedish nazis

FROM DANIEL VERGARA FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

THE PARTY of Swedes, Sweden's biggest nazi grouping, has chosen Stefan Jacobsson as its new leader. Jacobsson is a former member of the violent, extremist Swedish Resistance Movement. He was jailed in 2005 for rioting and again in 2009 for having a knife.

Jacobsson is an admirer of the US nazi terror organisation, The Order, whose members killed political opponents and Jews. In 2009, Free the Order (FTO) – an outfit founded by Jacobsson – together with the nazi organisation, the Yellow Cross, published a book of interviews

with members of The Order.

Jacobsson recently claimed that “FTO was a solidarity project for people who sacrificed their lives for something they believed in and that was to save the white race in USA.”

The Party of Swedes took a council seat in Grästorps in 2010 but it remains empty because their candidate did not live in the town. But, thanks to councillors of the racist Sweden Democrats joining them, the nazis now have representatives on three local councils.

NETHERLANDS | Wilders' new anti-mosque campaign

FROM JEROEN BOSCH FOR ALERT! AND ANTIFA-NET IN AMSTERDAM

IN DECEMBER, the first signs of renewed Freedom Party campaigning emerged when the provincial branch in Enschede voiced its opposition to the building of a Turkish cultural centre and mosque.

Soon afterwards, leader Geert Wilders said he wanted to combat “the biggest disease that the Netherlands has faced in the last century”. Wilders claims to have received messages from all over the country from people complaining about the building of new mosques.

He said: “We will visit them all and give them advice about how to stop mosques in their neighbourhood”.

A website with legal advice against new mosques asks: “Wouldn't it be beautiful, the Netherlands without any mosques?”

A planned mosque in Enschede will replace two older mosques and neighbours will have a say at what time the call to prayers is made. Clearly not what Wilders hoped for.



The ten right-wing extremists in southern Italy (left to right) Enrico Tarantino, Andrea Coppola, Aniello Fiengo, Emmanuela Florino, Giuseppe Guida, Massimo Guida, Alessandro Mennella, Raffaele Palladino, Giuseppe Savuto, Giovanni Senatore

ITALY | Fascists seized in rape plot

FROM MICHELE ZACCHI IN ROME

A SPECIAL Carabinieri unit has arrested 10 right-wing extremists in southern Italy. Seized in Naples, Salerno and Latina in January, they were charged with creation of an armed group, illegal possession of weapons and explosives, injury to a police officer, taking part in street brawls in Naples and arson attacks.

An additional charge is systematic indoctrination of ethnic hatred and violence and antisemitism, the group having held meetings centred on Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Among those arrested is Emanuela Florino, 26, daughter of a former fascist parliamentarian and a nazi Casa Pound election candidate.

Police recordings and wiretaps reveal frenzied race hatred, including a proposal to “beat and rape a Jewish college student”. Another talks of an arson attack on a Jewish-owned jeweller's shop.

Italy's justice minister, Paola Severino, said she felt “horror, outrage and disgust” at the disclosures.



Austrian's protest against the far-right ball
Photo: Daniel Weber

showed up. Even FPÖ leader Heinz-Christian Strache did not join the waltz. The total number in attendance plunged from 3,000 in 2012 to 780 this year.

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■ Country in Focus: France p38



USA | Judgment Day for Tanton Network

From Eric O'Neill in Washington DC

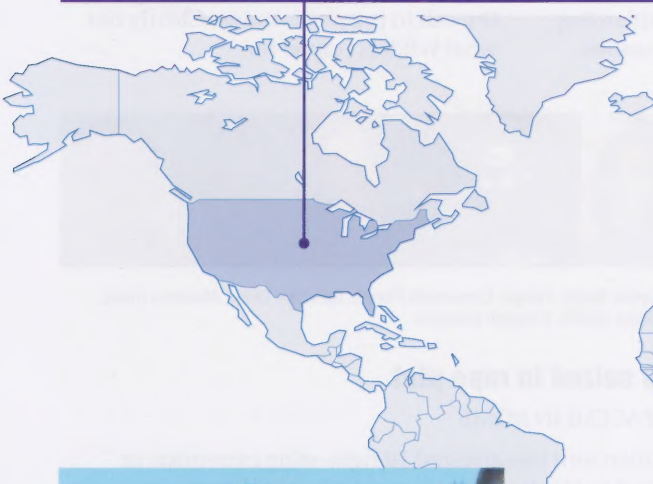
SINCE 2001, anti-immigrant leaders have forced the United States to mimic the failed migration policies of Fortress Europe. A grouping of organisations known as the Tanton Network has been at the forefront of a campaign to create a society based on exclusion. The network, made up of organisations such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform, the Center for Immigration Studies, and NumbersUSA, was founded by white nationalist John Tanton and has rallied millions of Americans to its cause through deceit and racial scapegoating. In recent months even conservatives have lashed the Tanton Network, with prominent newspaper articles in the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal*. This has undermined the influence and credibility of the Tanton Network within the Republican Party.

This year's Congressional hearings on immigration are markedly different from 2007 when the Tanton Network dominated congressional panels. This time, just one Tanton representative was given a seat and, following recent public rejection of the Network within the environmental movement, these nativists are finding it harder to access a public base from which to recruit. This creates space for rational discussion on immigration policy grounded in fairness and dignity. Consistent education and strategic mobilisation through a broad public alliance have proven successful and will continue to remain the best tools for stopping the Tanton Network in its tracks as the immigration debate re-ignites.

AUSTRALIA | Nazi's bombs stash 'aimed to kill'

AN EX-SOLDIER and self-proclaimed nazi found with homicidal notes and a cache of homemade artillery – including pipe bombs, guns with telescopic scopes and silencers – has pleaded guilty to explosive and weapons-related offences. On 14 December 2011, police raided the home of the nazi Christopher Gray, 23, in Kurunjang, a suburb west of Melbourne, after a tip-off from his mother. In his bedroom, police uncovered a mass of weapons, including four guns, a silencer, five firearm magazines, bullets, a baton, a homemade knife and knuckle-duster.

Judge Mark Dean said “a vast array of highly disturbing material” was found on Gray's computer – including images of the Columbine High School massacre, Adolf Hitler, Holocaust victims, Osama bin Laden, military weapons and white supremacist and Nazi material. He said Gray's written notes made clear his intention to kill a former teacher, his family and their pets “and various other disturbing and deluded references”. Decisions on a sentence will be made after further court hearings and an examination of Gray's mental health.



New Zealand
First MP
Richard
Prosser

NEW ZEALAND | MP slated for Muslim air passenger comments

NEW ZEALAND politicians have rounded on a colleague who suggested that young men who are Muslim or “look like Muslims” should be banned from “Western” airlines. In a magazine article, right-wing populist New Zealand First MP Richard Prosser said he accepted that the majority of Muslims were not terrorists but added it was “equally undeniable” that “most terrorists are” Muslims.

“If you are a young male, aged between say about 19 and about 35, and you're

a Muslim, or you look like a Muslim, or you come from a Muslim country, then you are not welcome to travel on any of the West's airlines,” he wrote. He also claimed New Zealand's rights were being denigrated by “misogynist troglodytes from Wogistan”. Since the article appeared, New Zealand First leader Winston Peters has disowned Prosser's views and ethnic affairs minister Judith Collins said the comments could embarrass New Zealand internationally.

Guest column...

Working together for a shared future

by Sunder Katwala

THE INCLUSIVE pride so many Londoners felt in its confident claim to be one of the world's great global cities was one of the resonant themes of the capital's success in hosting the 2012 Olympics.

Yet the release of the 2011 census shortly before Christmas generated a more anxious discussion of diversity. There was also a familiar polarisation – on one side those who celebrate difference and diversity as enriching the cultural life of the capital, versus those who feel deeply unsettled by the scale and pace of change they have seen in their lifetimes.

The eye-catching figure that London is now 45% white British has been intensely debated, though it was very often misunderstood. Even MPs and shadow ministers on Question Time have been heard to state that London is now a 'majority-minority' city with a non-white majority. It isn't – because the 'white British' category conflates ethnicity and nationality.

The census shows that London is 60% white and also 63% British-born. There are many other white Londoners, including generations of Irish, or those of Polish descent whose families fought for Britain in World War Two as well as those who have arrived in the last decade. We live in a generation when most Britons of ethnic minority descent are British-born. So my house's census return recorded six British-citizens, all of us British-born, in either the 1970s or the last decade.

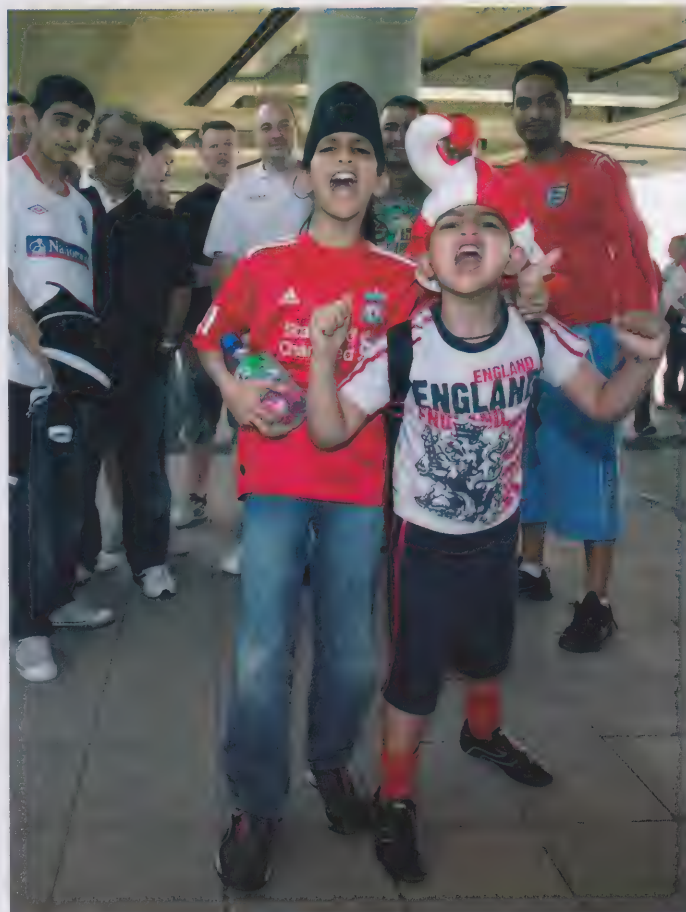
We are only 15% 'white British', as it happens.

Few things could be less British than to suggest that our children are somehow less British than their 'white British' classmates, by virtue of being third generation British-citizens, with a claim to be mixed race both through their Indian-Irish grandparents on my side of the family, and their ability to trace their mixture of Irish, English and Jewish descent a couple of generations further back on the other.

The 45% white British discussion risks – accidentally – missing that the "there ain't no black in the Union Jack" argument was decisively settled, for all except the failing and dwindling BNP hardcore.

37% of Londoners were born abroad, though some like Prince Phillip or Trevor MacDonald will have acquired British citizenship a long time ago. Across England and Wales as a whole, around a third of those born abroad have been here more than 20 years, arriving across the decades between 1950 and 1990. The census itself shows that more than 70 per cent of Londoners hold a British passport, but the eight per cent of Londoners who do not will include many British citizens too. (This gives London the lowest proportion of non-passport holders in the UK; this is highest in Wales, where 22 per cent do not hold a passport).

The Migration Observatory at Oxford University calculates that the proportion of Londoners who are British citizens to be 78%, while 22% are foreign nationals. The 2011 Labour Force Survey data shows that foreign citizens made up 19 per cent of



the population of outer London, and 27 per cent of those in inner London.

The British tradition is that once you are British, you are equally British, so it might be good to see some 78% British headlines in London's *Evening Standard* too.

Yet perhaps the real message of the census should be this: this is who we are now. London may be the most confident part of the country about diversity – because contact creates trust, and because the city is affluent too. Outside London, there is more anxiety about change, but people know that Britain won't be changing back to how it was in 1912.

If we want to all be proud to be British again, then we will have to come together to create a future that we want to share. Whether we celebrate the way Britain has changed or feel unsettled about it, we should recognise our shared responsibility to make sure it works. Then we might see that our arguments any democracy should have – about what types of immigration best reflect Britain's interests and values, how we make integration work, or what needs to change economically for opportunity to be shared fairly across society – are about how we make sure that being the 'new us' works for us all.

■ SUNDER KATWALA is the director of the identity and integration think-tank, British Future www.britishfuture.org

UKIP: A party to oppose?

By Simon Cressy and Nick Lowles

The Prime Minister David Cameron once described UKIP as a party full of “fruitcakes, loonies and closet racists”.

Michael Howard, former leader of The Conservative Party, described them as “cranks, gadflies and extremists”.

UKIP have replaced the BNP as the party of choice for those disaffected voters wishing to register a protest vote at election time.

They are a right wing, populist party who like to describe themselves as democratic and libertarian. Their main policy is withdrawal from the European Union, but immigration has become an all important factor, one that Nigel Farage and UKIP knows strikes a chord with the average voter on the doorstep.

But now it would appear that we all have to take them seriously. UKIP's second place in the Eastleigh by-election is sending shockwaves through the British political establishment. Their 27% of the vote follows on from the 22% they polled in Rotherham and the 14.3% they received in Corby. In opinion polls they are battling for third place with the Liberal Democrats, with their popularity fluctuating between 9-12%.

Long dismissed as simply an anti-European Union protest party their political rivals are now gearing up to life with them for the foreseeable future.

Not racist?

Farage insists that UKIP is not an extremist organisation and says it is not racist to discuss immigration. Of course, he is correct but for many of their supporters criticism of immigration often slips into outright racism.

In fact, at a local level, UKIP material is often far more extreme than that produced by the BNP. It is as if their anti-establishment and slightly quirky image in the media means their extremist and racist comments by local councillors

and organisers are not held to the same scrutiny or outrage as would happen if a BNP activist said the same.

“The contrasting treatment of BNP leader Nick Griffin and UKIP leader Nigel Farage over the past decade provides an example of this effect in action,” says Rob Ford, from Manchester University.

“Griffin's efforts to appeal to a more mainstream audience were hamstrung by his party's legacy of fascism and violence, which lead the media, other politicians, and the electorate to treat him as a pariah. Farage, by contrast, has been able to raise similar contentious questions about immigration, Islam and identity in mainstream political forums such as Question Time without being attacked as a racist or a fascist thanks to his roots in a more legitimate tradition of ‘Euro-sceptic politics.’

The racism and Islamophobia of its supporters is not hard to find. Abhijit Pandya, a UKIP parliamentary candidate, said on his website that Islam is “morally flawed and degenerate” and that he backed the controversial Dutch politician Geert Wilders who has called Islam “a retarded ideology”.

The former UKIP leader Lord Pearson claimed that some of “our people were strangers in our own land” and that Muslims were “breeding ten times faster than us” Pearson also invited Wilders to screen the controversial film about radical Islam, *Fitna*, at the House of Lords.

The chairman of London UKIP Paul Wiffen denounced Muslims as “nutters who want to kill us and put us under medieval Sharia law”.

UKIP's former leader and founder of the party Alan Sked recently told *The Huffington Post* that the party he launched in 1993 has become “extraordinarily right wing” and is now devoted to creating a fuss, via Islam and immigrants”.

When asked if UKIP was xenophobic, Sked replied: “It seems to be anti Islam and anti immigrant. If that adds up to xenophobic, then yes.”

UKIP is a member of the Europe of Freedom and Democracy group in the European Union alongside a whole host of xenophobic parties and its Yorkshire and Humber MEP, Godfrey Bloom, ran the European Alliance for Freedom group alongside well known far right politicians such as Marine Le Pen of the French National Front, Philip Claey's of Belgium's Vlaams Belang and Kristina Morvai of the Hungarian far right party Jobbik.

In 2012, UKIP candidate Steve Moxon from Sheffield was stripped of his candidacy after writing on his blog that the Norwegian killer Anders Behring Breivik's thesis on Islam and political correctness was accurate.

In 2012, UKIP candidate Steve Moxon from Sheffield was stripped of his candidacy after writing on his blog that the Norwegian killer Anders Behring Breivik's thesis on Islam and political correctness was accurate.



Another UKIP official to hit the headlines recently was Oxford UKIP chair Dr Julia Gasper. Last year Gasper compared the Koran to Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, said the holy book was “fascist” and compared those who defend Islam to holocaust deniers.

Six months later Gasper resigned as Oxford UKIP leader after making homophobic comments where she branded gay rights a “lunatic’s charter” and claimed some homosexuals prefer sex with animals. Dr Gasper added: “As for the links between homosexuality and paedophilia, there is so much evidence that even a full-length book could hardly do justice to the subject.”

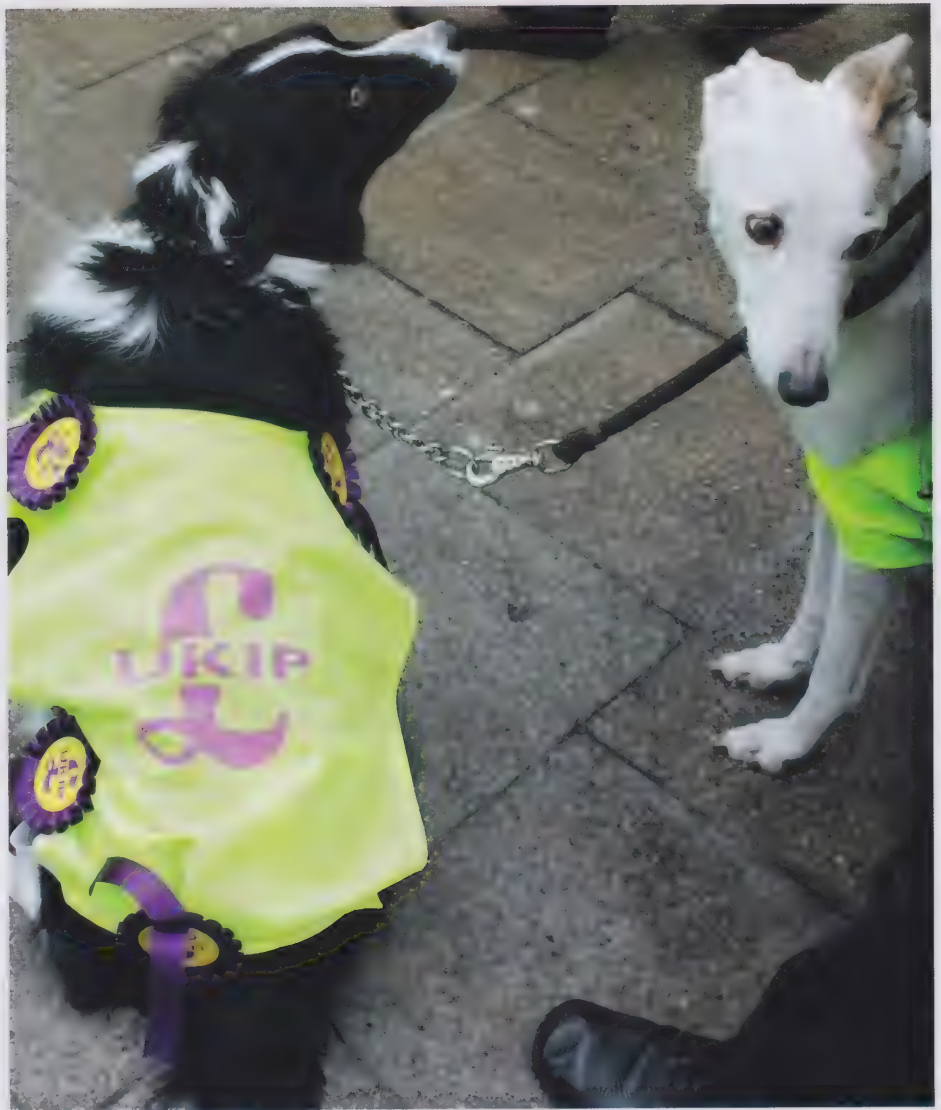
Following the vote in Parliament on gay marriage, Olly Neville, leader of UKIP’s youth organisation, Young Independence, was sacked after giving a radio interview claiming he supported gays having equal marriage rights. Richard Lowe, prospective parliamentary candidate for Chester was also forced to resign over the issue.

UKIP have a strict policy banning former BNP members from joining the party yet a former BNP candidate Andrew Eccles stood for UKIP in 2012 in Bury, Lancashire. Eccles was the BNP’s parliamentary candidate in the Hyndburn constituency in the General Election of 2010.

A clear space

One of the major factors for UKIP’s rapid rise is that they are operating with greater freedom on the right of British politics. The Conservatives are being restrained by the realities of governing and the compromises they are having to make as part of their coalition pact with the Liberal Democrats. Conversely, the electoral collapse of the BNP has left UKIP as the only actors on the right in British politics.

“UKIP now faces no competitor on the extreme right, leaving it free to recruit heavily from the 20% of the electorate who hold radical right views on a broad range of issues,” says Rob Ford. “In recent local elections some of UKIP’s strongest performances have come in areas where the BNP has recently



Going to the dogs: UKIP Campaigners on the eve of the Eastleigh by-elections Photo: Jennifer Jane Mills

collapsed, suggesting it is already reaping these benefits.”

Here to stay

UKIP are here to stay and we all need to start getting used to that and prepare accordingly. In May UKIP leader Nigel Farage is boasting that the party will stand 2,000 candidates in the county council elections. In June 2014 they could well top the poll in the European Elections. Coming just six months after Romanians and Bulgarians are given the right to work in the UK and just 11 months before a general election, this will send shockwaves through the Conservative Party who are increasingly worried that UKIP could prevent them winning the general election.

While UKIP will probably struggle to make gains in the 2015 General Elections, when our electoral system and the focus on who runs the Government makes it a two-horse race, their success between now and then is likely to shift the centre of political gravity to the right.

Britain finally has the type of anti-immigrant, anti-EU and anti-establishment party that many other countries across Western and Northern Europe has grown accustomed to over the past 10-15 years. And while UKIP is not a far right or fascist party many of its members and supporters hold views little different from those held by the BNP and it is for this reason the party should be monitored and opposed. ●

Should HOPE not hate oppose UKIP?
An online debate and vote
www.hopenothate.org.uk

UKIP's allies in

UKIP is quick to distance itself from traditional far right extremism but its links across Europe seem to suggest a quite different picture of the political allegiances. *Graeme Atkinson reports*

UKIP belongs to the Europe of Freedom and Democracy group in the European Parliament. This group is composed of ten political parties and one independent MEP.

Several of UKIP's European allies are tainted with right-wing extremism even if they carefully avoid links with the more extreme wing of the right-wing spectrum.

Gerald Batten MEP

Gerald Batten MEP co-founded UKIP in 1993 and is closely linked to the European 'Counter-Jihad' movement.

He has been involved with Stop Islamisation of Europe, addressed the inaugural *CounterJihad* conference in Brussels on 18 October 2007 and also spoke at the 2011 conference in London, which was also attended by EDL leaders Stephen Lennon and Kevin Carroll. Batten launched *A Proposed Charter of Muslim Understanding*, with the assistance of leader 'Counter-jihadist' Sam Solomon, at the European Parliament in Strasbourg on 13 December, 2006 and at the House of Lords in London on 29 April, 2007, and in December 2008 he invited Geert Wilders to the European Parliament to screen his film *Fitnato*.



Godfrey Bloom MEP

UKIP MEP Godfrey Bloom founded the European Alliance for Freedom group within the European Parliament. Among the MEPs aligned to it have been Marine Le Pen (Front National – France), Philip Claey's and Peter Kleist (Vlaams Belang – Belgium) and Andreas Mölzer and Franz Obermayr (Freedom Party – Austria).



Frank Vanhecke (Belgium)

An Independent MEP from Belgium was, until recently, the Chairman of the fascist Vlams Belang party and before that had been General Chairman of the predecessor Vlams Blok organisation.



Movement for France (France)

The Movement for France is an anti-immigrant party which is strongly critical of the European Union. It is led by Philippe de Villiers who stood as a candidate in the 2007 French presidential elections.

De Villiers holds that "Islam is not compatible with the French Republic" and has pledged that if elected he would expel all illegal immigrants and prevent Turkey from joining the EU. He has repeatedly stated that he wants to halt what he calls "the Islamisation of France," promising to stop the construction of new mosques and dismiss the French Council of the Muslim Religion.

Lega Nord (Italy)

This maverick regionalist party takes a tough stance on crime, immigration, especially from Muslim countries, and terrorism. It supports the promotion of immigration from non-Muslim countries in order to protect the 'Christian identity' of Italy and Europe.

In 2003, party president Umberto Bossi suggested opening fire on the boats of illegal immigrants from Africa, whom he described as *bingo-bongos* and Giancarlo Gentilini, at the time Mayor of Treviso, labelled foreigners as "immigrant slackers", saying: "We should dress them up like hares and bang-bang-bang".

Lega Nord MEP Mario Borghezio (pictured) has been convicted for racist assault and arson against homeless people. He has praised Serb war criminal Ratko Mladic and paid tribute to Norwegian mass killer Anders Breivik. He has also taken part in gatherings of right-wing extremists in Belgium and Germany.

Europe

Danish People's Party (DF)

This party is a right-wing populist organisation totally opposed to immigration and to the European Union. Its previous, long-time leader, Pia Kjaersgaard, has stated she does not want Denmark as a multi-ethnic, multicultural society and that a multi-ethnic Denmark would be a national disaster. She also publicly defended Dutch extremist Geert Wilders anti-Muslim movie *Fitna* as "necessary and important".

Her successor Kristian Thulesen Dahl is on record as admitting his party is "anti-Muslim", arguing: "I don't think we have room for any more [people] with a Muslim background".

There are personal links between DF members and the right-wing extremist anti-Muslim Free Press Society (*Trykkefrihedsselskabet*).



 Dansk Folkeparti

Finland – True Finns

The True Finns is a populist, nationalist party which shot to prominence in 2011 when it made a major breakthrough, polling 19.1%, in parliamentary elections. It seeks to impose draconian restrictions on Finland's already tough immigration policies.

True Finns MP Teuvo Hakkarainen frequently says what other party members and supporters think. He is notorious for his racist and homophobic comments. In April 2011, he used the word *neekeriukko* (which translates to "nigger"). He also compared immigrants to robbers and made a mocking imitation of the Islamic call to prayer.

In December 2011, an opinion poll revealed that 51% of True Finn voters agreed with the statement: "People of certain races are unsuited for life in a modern society."



Slovak National Party (Slovakia)

This party is the more extreme wing of the right-wing spectrum in Slovakia. It is ultra-nationalist, anti-Roma, anti-Hungarian, racist and homophobic.

Its leader Ján Slota, has said the best policy for dealing with the Roma is "a long whip in a small yard" and has called the wartime fascist leader and executed war criminal Jozef Tiso "one of the greatest sons of the Slovak nation". When SNS was accused of being a fascist party, it sued for financial damages, alleging the statement caused it loss of votes, image, and reputation. The Slovak Supreme Court threw the case out.



Order and Justice (Lithuania)

The Order and Justice party is a right wing national liberal political party from Lithuania.



Popular Orthodox Rally (Greece)

LAOS is a right-wing populist, nationalist, anti-immigration, antisemitic and anti-Islamist party in Greece. Its leader Georgios Karatzaferis is a notorious antisemite. After the 9/11 attacks in New York, he posed the question: "Why were all the Jews warned not to come to work that day?"

In a televised debate with Israel's ambassador to Greece he said: "Let's talk about all *these tales* of Auschwitz and Dachau" and, in 2002, during a parliament session he asked the then Greek prime minister: "Is it true that your daughter secretly married a Jew?"



Researching 'counter-jihadism'

Nick Lowles

At the beginning of this year HOPE not hate linked up with the Digital Methods Initiative (DMI) at Amsterdam University to research the 'Counter-Jihad' movement.

The DMI unit is among the best in the world and has pioneered and developed numerous tools to research the internet and study online behaviour. Given how much of the 'Counter-Jihad' world is online it seemed a perfect research subject for the staff and students in Amsterdam.

In mid-January 50 students on a DMI MA course took part in a five-day Digital Sprint. After presentations from myself, Peter Knoope, Director of International Centre for Counterterrorism, The Hague, and Allan Feddes, Political Science Professor at UvA, and an expert in radicalization, the students spent the next four days researching different aspects of the Counter-Jihad scene.

In all, there were 11 research projects undertaken, and at the end of the week the students came back and presented their work. Each project group also produced a Wikipage.

The research project is fascinating for a number of reasons. Firstly, research into the 'Counter-jihad' movement is remarkably scarce. To our knowledge there have only been three in-depth reports into this phenomenon. Last year HOPE not hate published The 'Counter-Jihad' Movement: the global trend feeding anti-Muslim hatred; EXPO produced Counter-Jihad Movement and Fear Inc, by the Center for American Progress in the United States.

Secondly, the Counter-Jihad movement is a thoroughly international network of bloggers, websites, political parties and

street activists and because of the central role on the web it lends well to new media research.

Insight

Finally, the research tools produced by DMI are quite incredible and offer us a new insight into the online behaviour and activities of the 'Counter-jihad' movement.

Over the next few pages we reproduce a few of their initial findings. Some simply confirm what we guessed before but others tell us something new.

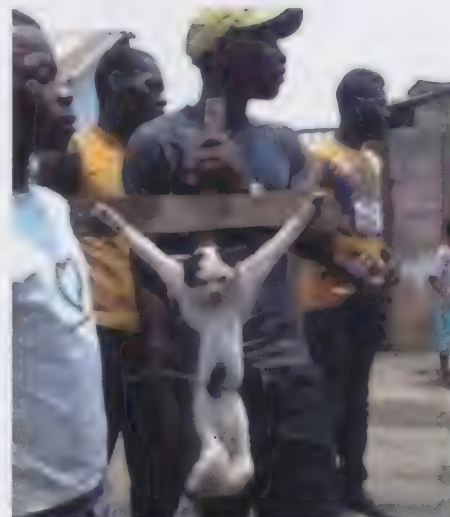
The 'Counter-jihad' movement likes to boast of its support for Israel and some opponents use this supposed support to draw attack Israel and simply dismiss the movement as a 'Zionist' front. The research finds that while white Christian men in the movement like to associate with Israel, only 1% of supporters of Israel like to identify with the 'counter-jihadists'.

More importantly, this research informs us of what motivates and mobilises people who hate Islam, thus potentially enabling us to develop effective counter narratives. The key battlegrounds between pro and anti-Islam are often not where we expect them and key networks and organisers have already been revealed.

The data sprint is just the start. As HOPE not hate goes to print, we are in discussions with the DMI about establishing a proper Research Group and producing, in collaboration with HOPE not hate, an in-depth report into the online world of Counter-Jihadism.

This is exciting and vital work and we believe it will help us be able to counter this increasingly important but often ignored political trend.

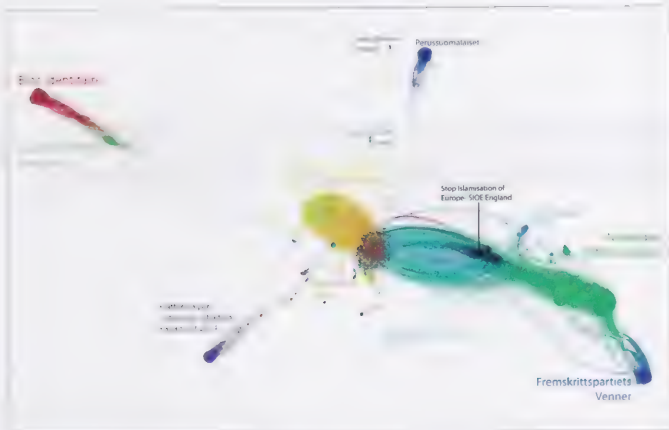
Five things we learnt about 'Counter- Jihadism' online



The image of the cat being crucified by Muslims in response to the Innocence of Muslims film was the most shared image by 'Counter-Jihadists' on Facebook. However, the picture was taken a long time before and involved Christians.

1 UNDERSTANDING THE NETWORKS

Through the DMI research tools we have been able to identify and monitor the online networks of the Counter-Jihad world. We can identify who is in touch with each other and identify online leaders who might not be known to us offline.



The overlap between 'Counter-Jihadist' supporters on Facebook

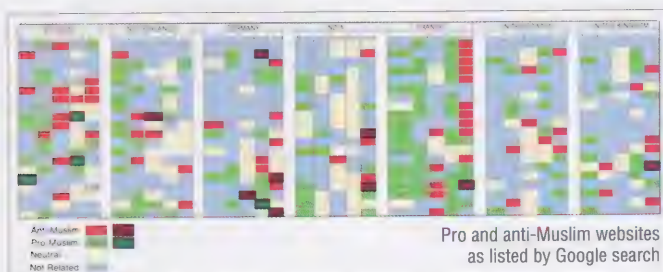
2 UNDERSTANDING THE 'COUNTER-JIHAD' NARRATIVE

Amazon's Kindle allows readers to highlight passages of text that they like and this information is now public, allowing researchers to understand what exactly people like in a more accurate way than simply studying open Facebook sites, tweets or user comments.

Analysing Kindle 'highlights' allows us to understand 'how' texts are being read and which issues resonate with their supporters. This will allow us to develop a counter-narrative.



The Connections between key 'counter-jihad' texts read and highlighted on Amazon Kindle



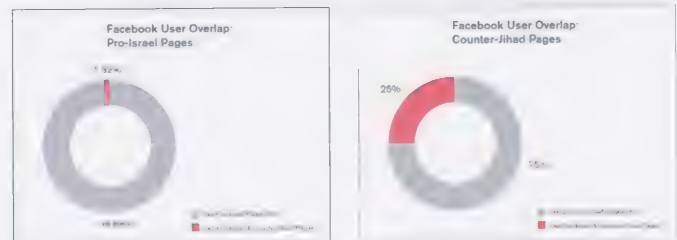
Pro and anti-Muslim websites as listed by Google search

3 DISPELLING MYTHS

'Counter-Jihadists' like to boast of their support for Israel. Some militant Islamist groups point to the Zionist motivation behind the 'Counter-jihad' movement. The researchers in Amsterdam have dispelled this myth.

Studying the overlap between 'Counter-Jihadist' and 'pro-Israeli' Facebook sites in the United States, the researchers found that while 25% of 'Counter-Jihadists' identified with Israel, only 1.3% of those liking pro-Israeli Facebook sites identified with the 'Counter-Jihadist' cause.

Most of those supporting both groups were actually white Christian men.

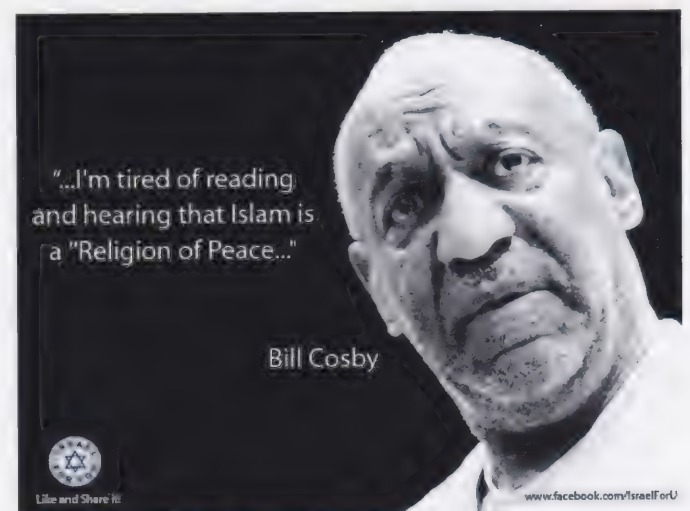


4 EXPOSING LIES

In the course of understanding how 'Counter-jihadists' used Facebook and Twitter, and their different types of engagement, we found that many of the most 'liked' and 'shared' images on their Facebook sites were not what they seemed.

The most 'liked' image on the biggest Counter-Jihad Facebook was that of Bill Crosby attacking Islam. Ten months before they posted the photo Bill Crosby denied the quote attributed to him and there is no record of it anywhere.

The most widely 'shared' image was that of a cat nailed to a cross. This appeared in the immediate aftermath of the Innocence of Muslims film. Researchers found that this picture was taken long before the film came out and was shot in Angola, an overwhelming Christian country.



5 GOOGLE HATE

The DMI researchers looked into the accessibility of hate through Google search engines in several countries around the world. They searched numerous words like 'Jihad', 'Islam' and 'Muslim'. They then graded the top 20 searches by whether they were pro or anti-Muslim, neutral or not-related.

Anti-Muslim websites were most prominent in Google searches in France and Belgium.

The Birmingham Terrorist Plotters

Lessons for Counter-Terrorism Today

The conviction of three Birmingham residents of a terrorist plot reveals classic linkages between home-grown bombers and Pakistan. The supply side of the terrorist threat in the UK continues to prove a problem. By *Raffaello Pantucci*.

IN WHAT has been described by a senior investigating officer as the “most significant counter-terrorism investigation since the airlines bomb plot of 2006”, a jury at Woolwich Crown Court found three Birmingham residents guilty of planning a terrorist campaign in the UK. The plot was unravelled in a landmark police surveillance operation, codenamed Pitsford.

The plot seems to be a throwback to an earlier time. A group of radicalised young, British-born Muslims have links to Al-Qa’ida in Waziristan – a connection which seems to have flowed through Kashmiri-oriented networks – were caught trying make a bomb. The key difference is Al-Qa’ida in Pakistan is a very different entity today than it was in the mid-2000s, no longer able to exert the same sort of command and control over terrorist cells it has trained and sent to carry out attacks.

The men involved in the plot all fit a profile that has been perceived as being all too common in British counter-terrorism. Young men from Britain’s south-Asian Muslim communities with some education, had elected to dedicate themselves to Al-Qa’ida’s cause rather than become productive members of society; and to instead inflict

“revenge for everything, what we’re doing is another 9/11”, as Irfan Khalid put it within range of a security service listening device.

Having decided what they were seeking to do, they headed to Pakistan where they obtained connections to Al-Qa’ida.

How high these connections went is something that was made clear by cell leader Irfan Khalid: “Well, you know, the sheikh we’re on about, the Kuwaiti guy. You know about the top five ... he’s the one who’s blessed this whole thing and he’s the one who is saying people are doing *dua* [praying] for you. Then, there’s other top people doing *dua*. They’ve done *istekhara* [religious prayer for guidance] from what we guess.”

The man they are referring to is Abu Zaid al-Kuwaiti, a senior Al-Qa’ida leader killed in a drone strike last December. Whether they met with him is unclear, but what is certain is that they had made contact with one of his lieutenants who brought them to Waziristan training camps and helped them record their martyrdom videos.

Their story is reminiscent of a narrative common in counter-terror investigations from a few years ago, in particular the 7 July bombers

who killed 52 people in an Al-Qa’ida-directed attack on London’s public transport system. In both plots, radicalised young British Muslims went to Pakistan, were able to connect with Al-Qa’ida, were trained to make bombs, recorded martyrdom videos which they left behind, and then dispatched back to the UK to carry out an attack.

Influences

Looking back further, there are similarities in the influences on key plotters belonging to the two cells: in recorded conversations, the Pitsford cell praised the work of now dead radical cleric Anwar al-Awlaki and would use his work to further radicalise individuals they were drawing into their network. While driving one group to the airport to go to Pakistan, one of the lieutenants who had previously pleaded guilty to his role in the cell asked how a fellow plotter had discovered the path of jihad: “How did you know this was the ‘*haqq*’ [truth], Anwar al-Awlaki?” He then praised the cleric, saying: “May Allah reward him. Cause of him so many people [have discovered the truth]”.

Material which has subsequently about the 7 July plotters reveals that their handler in Pakistan, a Birmingham man

named Rashid Rauf, realised that Mohammed Siddique Khan and his co-conspirator were serious and had “good knowledge” as they used to listen to Anwar al-Awlaki. In the Pitsford case, Awlaki seems to have played an even more prominent role through the magazine which he created with a young American acolyte, called *Inspire*. The men were found in possession of the magazine, and were recorded discussing some of the ideas mentioned in it, including driving a harvester machine re-fitted with swords or blades into a crowd, and bomb-making recipes.

An even earlier ideological parallel can be found in the fact that one of the men in the cell reported that he had his first encounter with extremist ideas at the age of eight, when he found a book at home by Maulana Masood Azhar. A prominent Pakistani preacher who is seen as a key figure in the Islamicisation of the nationalist campaign in Kashmir, Azhar stands as a shadow over the history of British jihadism, especially on Pakistani/south Asian communities.

In the early 1990s, Azhar visited the UK to raise money for the Kashmiri struggle, including a stop in Birmingham. He was later arrested and jailed by Indian authorities, only



Irfan Naseer, Irfan Khalid and Ashik Ali, who have been charged with preparing an act of terrorism

to be released (alongside another young Briton he had radicalised, LSE graduate Omar Saeed Sheikh) in exchange for a planeload of Indian passengers en route to Nepal.

He went on to found a group called Jaish-e-Mohammed which claimed responsibility for the first reported British suicide bomber, another young Birmingham man called Asif Sadiq, who in December 2000 blew himself up in a car bomb in Srinagar, Kashmir. Jaish-e-Mohammed, alongside Harakat-ul-Mujahedeen – another similar group Azhar has also been linked to – became key conduits and training vehicles for British Muslims seeking jihad in Kashmir.

During the Pitsford case, one of the plotters, Rahin Ahmed, said he first found extreme ideas through Azhar's writing. For the 7 July cell, Azhar's book, *The Virtues of Jihad*, was an important text they would read to each other at a training camp they shared with other young Britons who went on to be convicted of terrorist plots in the United

Kingdom. Members of the group associated with the 7 July bombers also admitted to having trained at camps managed by Harakat ul-Mujahedeen.

The point being that the network of jihadist groups in Pakistan which had previously been focused on Kashmir provided a network that the young Britons were able to use to find not only radical ideas, but also obtain training.

Differences between 7/7 bombers and the Pitsford cell

Similarities notwithstanding, there were two key differences between the Pitsford group and the 7 July cell. First, of course, was the failure of the Pitsford cell to carry out their deadly duty. Second, however, was the degree to which Al-Qa'ida was able to direct them: the 7 July team remained in contact with their handlers in Pakistan right up to the point they carried out their operation.

In the evidence to have emerged, there is no sign that the Pitsford cell were able to maintain this same level of communication and were instead trained and then

dispatched to spread the word and carry out an act. The level of command and control visible in previous plots is clearly no longer able to exist in the same fashion. Al-Qa'ida has evolved from being an organisation which could direct and communicate with its cells around the world to one that dispatches foot soldiers from Pakistan with uncertainty about the final outcome.

The reasons for this shift are undoubtedly in part because of the pressure the group has come under in Pakistan through drone strikes and focused intelligence attention. But beyond this, it is also because the centre of gravity for jihadist ideas has shifted. Dissemination and conceptualisation of the Jihadist creed is no longer the preserve of Al-Qa'ida core in Pakistan. These ideas have found fertile ground in Somalia, the Sahel, parts of northern Nigeria, Yemen, wider Central Asia, and returned to parts of

the Middle East and in particular Syria.

These new battlefields have taken away some of the attention from Al-Qa'ida core and its ability to be the only draw for money and recruits. For a young Briton seeking the thrill of jihad in a foreign field, better the live fire battlefield of Syria fighting an oppressive dictator than hiding under trees from drone strikes in Waziristan.

Nevertheless, the plot unravelled by Operation Pitford highlights once again a fundamental problem before us. Eight years after the 7 July bombings, and almost 20 years after their ideas first inculcated themselves in the United Kingdom, we continue to see young Britons radicalised to the point of wanting to join terrorist groups and networks abroad. And in some cases they are willing to plot and carry out atrocities at home. The supply side of the terrorist threat in the UK continues to prove a problem. ●

■ *Raffaello Pantucci is a senior research fellow at the Royal United Services Institute. This has been published with its permission*

The Battle for B

The formation last month of the British Democratic Party is set to engulf the British far right for months – if not years – of bitter infighting. But, as *Matthew Collins* reports, this new party is just more of the same.

The two main extreme far-right parties in this country see themselves politically as a populist mix of reactionary Powellism and ideological Mosleyism.

The interim leader of the British Democratic Party (BDP), Kevin Scott, told an online American chat show that there is very little ideological difference between his party and its paternal mater, the British National Party (BNP).

Scott entered the far-right as a teenager back in 1983, joining the recently-formed BNP. For nearly 20 years, like those around him in the BNP and the NF, he survived on a hand-to-mouth existence of violent street politics and camaraderie, consigned as they were as social and political pariahs of political life in Britain.

Thirty years on, a now elevated Scott represents an ageing ideological old guard that became increasingly despondent not so much with Nick Griffin's policies and politicking as with the way he re-positioned the apparatus of the party and directed funds and power. They also resented how the party was staffed by faces drawn from an influx of new members who sought reward for comparatively little sacrifice.

The BDP descend from an era in the British far-right where secretive activists expected that they would be hounded from jobs and ridiculed for their strange beliefs. For years under its founder John Tyndall, the BNP's sporadic election campaigns were conducted under cover of darkness and candidates were ferried across town, city and country to avoid local scrutiny. Party meetings were held in dark, empty and anonymous back rooms and before the advent of the internet, members from across the country knew each other more intimately than social media of Facebook, youtube and Twitter can deliver.

The Powellites have forever been reactionary, short-lived middle England types. They came with great energy, but when they could not be converted left with tales of horror at the true nature of what underpinned political extremism. Scared of immigration, they feared that they were being swamped and that their economic and social interests were going to be drowned in a river of native blood at the hands of supposed third world savages. The Mosleyites were worldly, aged, bitter types. Immigration was symptomatic of other ills, secret worlds of finance and protocols. They met like the very conspirators they sought to expose. And they were fascists.

Since taking over the leadership of the BNP in 1999, Nick Griffin has courted both the racist Powellites and the fascist Mosleyites. Where Mosleyites had morphed into Tyndallites, they were removed with both gentle persuasion and – where necessary – force. Ridiculed and belittled, they were cast back into the darkness as Griffin sought to push the BNP centre stage in the immigration debate.

Griffin may be an odious and often cartoon-like villain when he appears on British television, but the thought of his Hitler-loving, Nazi-apologising and Holocaust-denying Tyndall appearing on Question Time is beyond comprehension. Yet, outrageously, Griffin did just that.

Veterans

For a long time Kevin Scott, like all of those in the BDP, stood loyal to the BNP leader he now bitterly opposes. Most of them were afforded special voting rights within the party. Scott was even allowed to run a 'civil liberty' front group as Mosleyites became respected

'veterans' of the 'movement'.

By the time Griffin was elected along with another veteran, Andrew Brons, to the European Parliament in 2009, Tyndall's name was long forgotten by activists and voters.

For the British public another acronym will make little difference to their relationship with the far-right. Like the BNP, the BDP refuses to acknowledge that there is little appetite for their politics.

The BDP's founding membership of 550 shows that it has made no inroads with disgruntled former BNP members who shifted either to the EDL or English Democrats, or simply walked away from the far-right after 2010. At the party's inaugural meeting in



Britain

Leicestershire in February, just 65 five members turned up.

Scott now admits that the BDP was launched too late to effectively capture his estimated "80-90%" of former BNP activists, while Griffin has busied himself instead with trying to eat into the decimated stocks of EDL members and EDP deserters. The BNP's focus is to bring in even more new recruits, a stark contrast to the BDP's desire to shore up activists, which it woefully short of.

The rise of the EDL distracted a tired and frustrated BNP activist base to such an extent that Brons and Scott et al found little room to build an alternative to the BNP.

Griffin pinpointed the growing



Kevin Scott almost prepared to go down on his knees to beg for members.

Facing off

THE LAUNCH of the British Democratic Party (BDP) in February has caused Griffin surprisingly few headaches. Although those in the new party are long-standing nationalists, Griffin believes that it has been his policies and strategies which have seen the BNP in this country enjoy what success it has.

Sixty-five attendees listened to a string of anti-Griffin speeches and calls for transparency from both the main speakers and from the floor, but in the main these are people who enjoyed the rich fruits of the BNP under 11 years of Griffin's tutelage, without ever really embracing his modernism.

For many, the world seemed to have stood still since 2010 when the BNP spectacularly faltered in general and local elections, and Griffin's ill-thought out lie that he would stand down from the party.

The steering committee of the BDP, drawn from the extreme Tory-right like Sam Swerling to old Mosleyites like John Bean, are not young. Richard Edmonds from the National Front spoke, as too did Peter Rushton from the Iranian government's state-owned television, both Holocaust-denying Jew haters.

Richard Barnbrook, the disgraced former BNP golden child of Barking and Dagenham and GLA fame, spoke from the floor and promised to join. An impressive backroom of former BNP leading lights paced around the room, but only Andrew Brons, now 66 and in obvious discomfort and poor health, has ever actually led a far-right party before. Between 1980-84, he led the NF through a near-terminal period of decline.

Andrew Moffat from Brons's European office scurried around removing the more extreme literature someone had unhelpfully laid out, knowing there would be activists in the room from antifascist and rival fascist organisations. Questions from the floor become speeches, pointless diatribes and



(top to bottom) Adrian Davies, Richard Barnbrook and Richard Edmonds

oral CVs. Some actually walked out during one particularly awful contribution from the floor.

The party's main backer, the far-right barrister Adrian Davies, is pained by the amateurism many of the new party's steering committee still cherish as proof of ideological commitment. While pained over the party's new constitution, the shoebox administration of self-appointed party officer Ken Booth, and the 'regional' and combative behaviour and attitudes of Booth and Scott, by all accounts have him grimacing. It's no surprise that neither of these two, who are in fact holding the party together, are invited on the long afternoon boozy sessions that Davies and the others so cherish.

For the BDP, elections are the key to survival. Few of them, even Brons, has any idea how one of those is even successfully fought.

Coventry

The press made much of Nick Griffin's supposed impoverished past, when he told BNP's organisers conference in Coventry in January to collect scrap metal and how he and his family had dined on road kill.

The conference could have easily also passed as a youth conference. Star-struck and inexperienced members were thrust before BNPTV to show there was life in the old dog yet.

Death and its benefits to the BNP was largely played upon. Some complained later that they felt they were being told that they were more valuable to the party dead than alive. Everyone was given a form explaining how easy it was to leave their worldly goods to the party.

Griffin and others implored the meeting that their main priority over the next year was to see him re-elected to the European parliament. Griffin's war chest is rumoured to be in the region of £500,000, sucked from the party's local branches and a series of bequests.

The party's other main priority, aside from stopping Clive Jefferson and Adam Walker killing each other, is to placate Marlene Guest. Guest, number four on the Euro list for Yorks and Humber in 2009, has been told that being the sole surviving party member from that list in 2009, she has now been relegated to second for 2014 behind Adam Walker.



Marlene Guest number four on the Euro list for Yorks and Humber in 2009

Out in the cold
Ken Booth



radicalism of those in the EDL's orbit as a way of sustaining the BNP in the short-to-long term and sought to put a wedge between the EDL, its leadership and its shadowy backers last year. As Brons procrastinated about leaving the BNP, Griffin trailed the EDL and its satellites around the country trying to tap into popular discourse over issues like Muslim grooming and unfounded fears about Sharia law. Griffin positioned his party as the natural alternative to an increasingly discredited Stephen Lennon and his short-lived link-up with the British Freedom Party.

As the EDL crashed spectacularly at the tail end of last year, Griffin offered the EDL's radicalised members and supporters access to the political arena. "No new party is necessary" he announced as he laid out his 12-point plan to salvage the EDL.

Late in September, as the EDL was still licking its wounds after a spectacular debacle in Walthamstow, Griffin hurriedly convened a secret meeting in Stoke of a dozen activists for a discussion on the way forward for the "anti-Islamisation street protest movement." Griffin proposed that another street movement be urgently cultivated based the 12-point plan he had put to the EDL membership. The new group would draw in the increasingly disillusioned EDL supporters.

While the BDP appears to be concentrating on electoral politics, Griffin is spreading his bets by focusing on the streets. In doing this he is falling back to his past National Front and early BNP days when he spoke lovingly of "well directed boots and fists" if the electoral path dries up.

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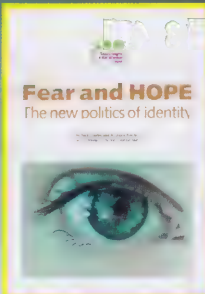
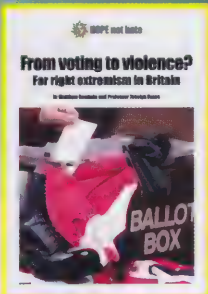
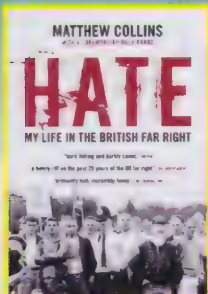
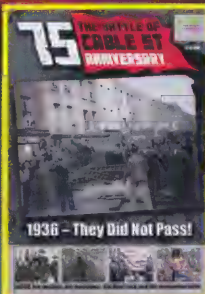
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A CHANGING N

The 2011 census gives us a snapshot of a very changing nation. This poses challenges but also provides opportunities. Understanding these changes is essential to building a credible and positive alternative to hate and bringing communities together.

Growing population

The population of England and Wales was

56.1m

in 2011, up 7% since 2001.

Foreign-born 13%

in England and Wales born outside UK. Just over half of these arrived in last 10 years. 37% of Londoners born in foreign country.

Ethnicity

80%

of people in England and Wales are 'white British', down 7% since 2001.

Other ethnic groups in England and Wales:

- Asian 6.8% (2001: 4.4%)
- black 3.4% (2001: 2.2%)
- Chinese 0.7% (2001: 0.4%)
- Arab 0.4% (2001: not listed)
- Other 0.6% (2001: 0.4%)



ATION



Religion

Only 59% of people in England and Wales describe themselves as Christians. Those claiming to have no religion has risen from 15% to 25% in just ten years. Muslims make up 5% of the population.

Language

More than half a per cent (38,000) of all usual residents aged three and over could not speak English.

The second most reported main language was Punjabi (546,000), followed by Urdu (269,000).

Ethnicity

2.2%

in England and Wales are mixed race (up from 1.27% in 2001).

12%

of households had partners or household members of different ethnic groups, three points up from 2001.

Migrants

London and the South East account for 50% of all short term migrants in England and Wales. London alone accounts for 35% of short-term migrants

Baby boom

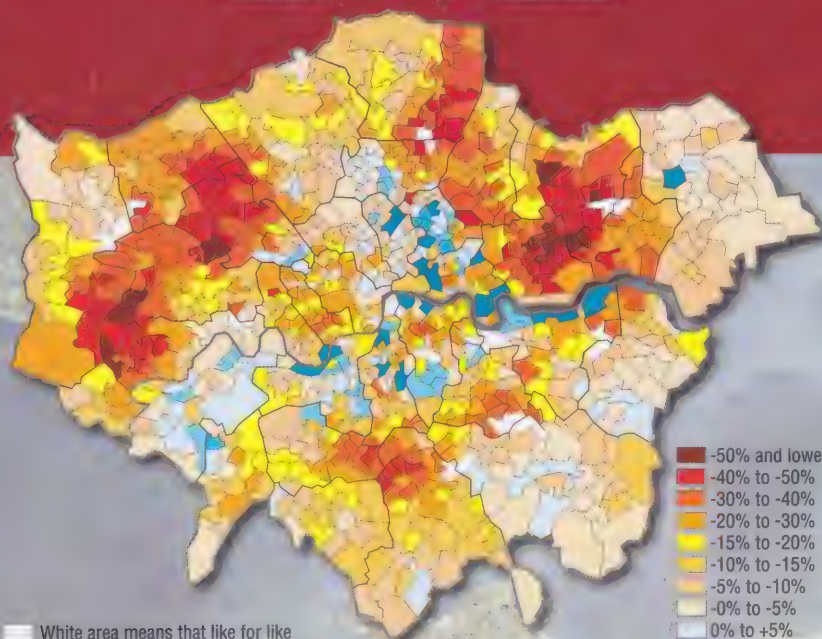
Seven out of ten

local authorities with the highest proportions of preschool (0-4 years) children nationally were in London. Barking and Dagenham was highest at 10.1%, followed by Slough (9.1%), Newham, Greenwich, and Luton (each 8.2%) and Waltham Forest (8.1%).



Changing London

The number of white British people in the capital fell by 620,000 - equivalent to the entire population of Glasgow moving out. During the same period the population of London grew by 1,002,000.



White area means that like for like comparisons between 2001 and 2011 census is not possible due to changes in the composition of the area. Source: ONS

-50% and lower
-40% to -50%
-30% to -40%
-20% to -30%
-15% to -20%
-10% to -15%
-5% to -10%
-0% to -5%
0% to +5%
+5% to +10%
+10% to +15%
Over +15%

Beds in sheds

Britain is one of the wealthiest countries in the world, but as *Dave Porter* discovers there are as many as 100,000 people living in sheds and other out-houses in gardens.

IT SOUNDS ALMOST too fanciful to be true: a plane equipped with thermal imaging cameras seeking out people living illegally in garden sheds.

But behind the tabloid headlines which this move by Slough Council generated last month lies the grim reality of undocumented workers in the UK at the twin mercies of rogue landlords and the UK Border Agency.

'Beds in sheds' has been a headline-grabbing issue for some time, with both local and national government keen to be seen to be doing something against chronic overcrowding of poor, vulnerable people living in 'shanty town' conditions.

But many commentators see the government's own neat way of killing two birds with one stone: cracking down on ruthless landlords while also being able to sniff out what it sees as illegal immigrants and deport them out of the country.

While there undoubtedly is a problem with people living in cramped, dangerous and dirty back-garden sheds with no heating and the very real risk of fire, some see the £1.8m given out by the government to local councils to deal with the problem as a double-edged knife.

Nine councils – Brent, Ealing, Hillingdon, Hounslow,

Newham, Redbridge, Southwark, Peterborough and Slough – were last year given £280,000 each to tackle the problem of beds in sheds. There are reported to be 10,000 illegal 'sheds with beds' in outbuildings across London.

For its part, Slough decided to use part of the money given to it to hire a plane equipped with a thermal imaging camera to look for people living in sheds. The cameras cannot detect body heat but will find warm areas in outbuildings. The council believes up to 3,000 households in the town may have illegally converted their sheds and outbuildings to house migrant workers.

In Southall, officers are visiting every home with a building in the garden and carrying out raids each month with the police to root out properties it suspects include illegally occupied outhouses or unlicensed homes with multiple occupants.

In Ealing, officers have carried out inspections on more than 3,000 homes, issuing 224 planning warnings, 84 contravention notices and 31 Housing Act notices. Council leader Julian Bell has talked of a "perfect storm where more and more people are pushed into unsuitable housing at the mercy of unscrupulous

landlords" and forced to live in unsafe conditions with no heating or hot water.

Under the Housing Act, landlords of 'homes of multiple occupation' where different households share facilities like kitchens or bathrooms must get a licence from the local council. By their very nature, sheds with beds are unlicensed and have been labelled "potentially lethal fire traps" by the London Fire Authority.

But John Perry, an expert on migration and housing issues who writes for Migrants Rights Network (MRN), identifies a number of problems with the government's approach to tackling the problem.

He says the 'tenants' of beds in sheds landlords end up themselves being branded the 'culprits' so that the action is not just against criminal landlords but "illegal immigrants".

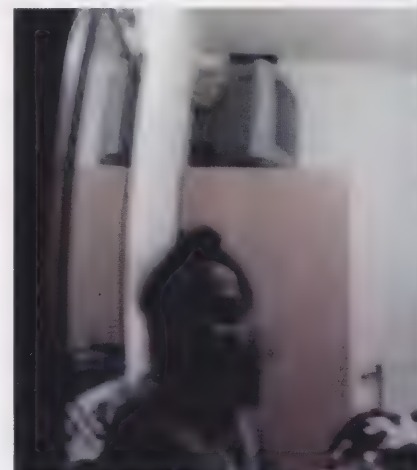
As he writes in his blog for MRN: "Just imagine if a newly arrived migrant ... were injured in a road accident and someone called an ambulance. Then instead of going to the hospital the ambulance took the victim to a police station to have her immigration status checked. I'm sure there would be an outcry. Yet this is directly comparable to what happened in Ealing.

39 people needed help in getting better accommodation, but instead half of them ended up in custody and no doubt the remainder were left feeling pretty scared."

Perry says that the new government beds in sheds taskforce will actually have an opposite effect, as he notes: "Any migrants living in these conditions will be even more scared to notify the authorities than they were before. Not only those who are undocumented but even the many who have a right to be here but fear that it might be challenged."

One unintended consequence of the policy, he says, will be an increase in people sleeping rough on the streets or moving into squats, a far from ideal solution.

For its part, Migrants Rights Network has warned that





carrying out immigration enforcement in raids on sheds with beds undermines its aim of addressing illegal housing by “compromising the collaboration and trust of its victims and driving the phenomenon further underground.”

MRN project manager Juan Camilo says the government’s initial strategy was based on the assumption that “it was basically a problem of illegal migrants living in sheds”.

“The policy seems to have had a dual objective of getting

rid of sheds and kicking people out of the country. As policy develops they have found that’s not the case,” he said.

“It varies a lot from area to area. In some areas like Slough it is mostly people with insecure immigration status. In other areas it might be EU nationals, and in others it might be British citizens. Because of this the government is now taking a hands-off approach despite some high profile operations and leaving it to local authorities to formulate their own strategies. Some see it as a planning issue, others as an environmental health problem, and some have joint operations with the police.

“Our key concern is for people who are not eligible for support from publicly-funded projects and what happens to them.” Sir Robin Wales is the mayor of Newham and has led a vanguard action against rogue landlords. In one raid on an illegal outbuilding, 38 people were found to be

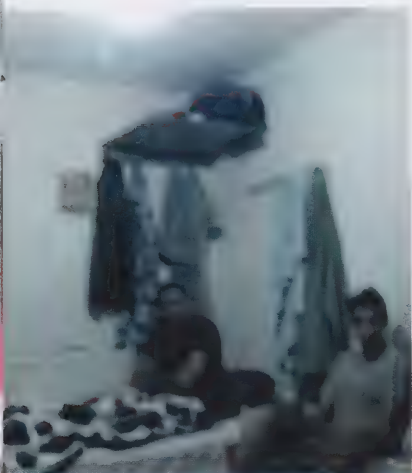
living under one roof – which included 16 children. In another, a walk-in freezer was being used to sleep in by two people. He sees the problem of beds in sheds as a wider issue involving the setting of a minimum wage, supply good housing and sustainable jobs for all in the borough. He said: “Our basic position is that we are not going to put up with people being exploited by criminal landlords. Otherwise we will have people living in disgusting conditions – we have to stop it. To do this we have massively beefed up our planning enforcement to more than six times the number of officers than the average London borough, going from 18 to 52. 10% of all enforcement in London is carried out by Newham. I will not permit a situation – if I’ve got the power – where people are being exploited in this borough.”

He says people such as undocumented workers found living in illegal structures are given advice and help by the council, adding: “We are

conscious that some may present as homeless and we understand that, and we will do what we are supposed to do, and that may put pressure on us for a while.

“Because people are being exploited they will end up in the system anyway, so we have to challenge that exploitation. If you choke the pipeline off in the long run it will work out better.”

Sir Robin says the only way to prevent such ‘favelas’ spreading is to create a situation where everyone is entitled to a minimum wage and decent housing. Newham has been at the forefront of demands for local authorities to be given the power to enforce the minimum wage on local employers. He added: “There are local issues but people need to look at how we are tackling some of the local issues in a way that is positive. It’s about telling people we are listening to their concerns. It means we can engage with people who are not racist but who have concerns.” ●



The DREAMer

Comprehensive immigration reform is now a real possibility in the United States. That both Democrats and Republicans are talking about it owes much to the unrelenting campaign of young undocumented students. Dave Porter spoke to Carlos Saavedra, until recently the national co-ordinator of United We Dream, during his recent speaking tour in the UK.

When Carlos Saavedra's younger brother won a scholarship to study in China, it was the catalyst for a chain of events which would end in a confrontation with President Obama.

Carlos had previously made a pledge to his bother Rodriguez that by the time he graduated from high school, which was to change the law in the US so that all undocumented young people would receive official recognition and not face deportation.

"I realised I had not fulfilled my promise to him. And that's when I started United We Dream," says Carlos.

Arriving in the US from Peru with his parents aged 12 on a tourist visa, he says they told him that "being undocumented would be difficult. I would struggle to go to school and get a job but I don't think they knew what it actually meant."

Carlos and his brother Rodriguez were one of the millions of undocumented people in America who live in bureaucratic limbo: unable to gain citizenship, fearful of being deported and running the risk of being denied back in the US should they ever leave.

Which is why when Rodriguez won his scholarship to China, Carlos had to tell him he couldn't take it up because there was no guarantee he would be let back in the country.

This led to Carlos leaving his home state of Boston and beginning a journey which would end in him leading the biggest youth-led immigrant organisation in the US, campaigning for Latinos to be granted the right to stay work and live in the States.

The 26 year old, who is relaxed and easy going and with a wisdom

which belies his years, made his first trip to the UK in February undertaking a whistle-stop tour attending meetings and giving inspirational talks.

HOPE not hate caught up with Carlos in Manchester to talk about the hugely successful campaign which ended with the US government passing the DREAM Act, which gives residency to high school graduates who also happen to be classed as illegal immigrants.

"I remember one day in high school and the history teacher arranged an after-class meeting. We thought it would be about our grades but he ended up talking about being undocumented. Half of the high school was immigrant and 60-70% of those were undocumented," says Carlos.

"He said, that means to go to college we would have to pay three times the tuition fees other students have to: \$18,000-\$20,000 per year instead of \$5,000. There was no way we could afford that – we were in limbo."

Radicalised by an acute sense of injustice and against the wishes of his parents who felt he risked the possibility of deportation, Carlos came out as an undocumented American and spent the next 10 years of his life dedicating himself to building up the Dream movement, under the umbrella of United We Dream. DREAM stands for Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors.

Carlos spearheaded a direct action movement which saw students occupy Senators' offices, stage sit-ins at Congress, go on hunger strike, and take on a five-month Trail of Dreams walk from Florida to Washington, as well as going on 'blood drives'. "We asked them: 'do you want to take our illegal blood?'" says Carlos.

He calls Obama the "deportator in chief" for deporting more people from the US than Bush ever did: 400,000-a-year – "that's the reality of the politics of Obama", he says.

"These are the people who want to the next doctor and the next teacher – we want to give, we want to build our country," he adds.

The result of the Dreamers' campaigning was a bill called the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals – or DACA – which gives 1.4m undocumented young people the right to live and work legally in the US. And now the fight is on to extend that same right to citizenship 11 million others, mainly adults.

Carlos says: "What DACA shows is that if you put pressure on people, if you organise and confront people you can achieve magnificent things. My brother now has his work authorisation card. We won this a week after he graduated from high school. It took me eight years to fulfil my promise to him.

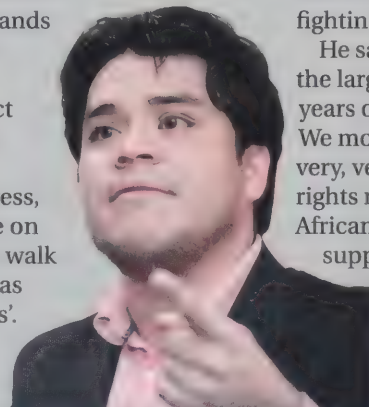
"We forced America to finally make a choice that it's an immigrant nation – that's the fight we're making."

Carlos has stepped down as national organiser of the Dreamers and is turning his attention to the wider struggle of civil rights and fighting oppression.

He said: "We achieved one of the largest victories in the last 28 years of the civil right movement. We moved a president. We were very, very influenced by the civil rights movements and many African-Americans have been very supportive of us – including Hollis Watkins.

"Right now we're reaching out to a lot of Asian people in the US, many of whom are

"We forced America to finally make a choice that it's an immigrant nation – that's the fight we're making"



undocumented like the Latino community. They voted in large numbers for Obama, just like we did."

Carlos says the UK can learn from the Dreamers: "I think we can share our experience of the US because we are going through similar problems. We can both learn from each other."

"My experience with United We Dream was transformational. When I was 18 in high school, I wanted to go to college but it was difficult because of my immigrant status. But our experience has shown that you can do the impossible and change the laws of a country so that the authorities are not all the time tracking us down."

"It took a long time and a lot of brave undocumented students coming out and really telling their stories, being part of an organisation, not just one person on their own."

Persuading Obama he needed to act if he wanted to keep the Latino vote in last year's elections was key for the Dreamers, as Carlos explains: "He really wanted to figure out how to secure the support of the Latino community. We pushed him into it, we said he could use his executive authority to sign the act."

"In recent polls 65% of the American public support the legalisation plan. A lot of people are starting to find out that undocumented are an asset to the American economy. 70% of rural workers are undocumented – what's going to happen to them? The US wants to renew itself, this is the only way it's going to do that."

"I think one of the most important things about the Dreamers is that it was young undocumented people deciding for themselves what they really believe in. Undocumented people want to

work, in the military or as doctors."

There have been many personal tragedies associated with the refusal of the US to allow illegal immigrants to stay.

"There was a case in Florida where the parents got deported but their two children remained in the US. They went into foster care and now they're being adopted, so their parents are having to fight a custody battle from abroad," says Carlos.

"You can apply for a visa but some people have been in the US for 28 years or 32 years and they are still waiting."

In 2010, when Congress knocked back the Dream Act and – by his own admission – Carlos was "depressed and tired", he went to his soccer-mad dad for some advice.

He recounts: "For my dad everything comes back to soccer, he's nuts about it. But he told me: 'A game you can win or lose but a team you have to build'. That's when I knew we had to carry on."

"And because we did we finally got DACA, which gave people the permission to travel, live and work in the country. We forced Obama to talk to Latinos and he got the message."

"My brother Rodriguez is now going through college, he's getting a job – these are very exciting times for him. Young people are getting organised and want to be part of America. I want now to be able to help the broader Latino movement."

"There are still 11 million workers in the US who are not documented and who need our help", he says. ●



Carlos Saavedra tours the UK

Nick Lowles

LAST MONTH HOPE not hate hosted Carlos Saavedra on a tour of the UK. In just seven days he spoke to 456 people at 21 meetings. There were public meetings, training events, smaller and more private meetings, and even a semi-clandestine meeting.

Everywhere he went, he was a huge hit.

Carlos has a great story to tell. He has been at the heart of a small group of undocumented students who through imaginative and relentless campaigning forced the most powerful politician in the world to change his position on immigration. Such has been their impact, the issue of Comprehensive Immigration Reform is now firmly on the political table.

Carlos began his tour with a meeting in the House of Commons. Held in collaboration with the Trade Union Labour Organisation and the Labour Party policy review, the meeting attracted 55 people from across the union movement and groups of migrant workers.

The following morning he spoke to the Communications group drawn from asylum and refugee organisations. Later that same day he addressed staff at Unison HQ and attended the HOPE not hate dinner.

At a meeting organised with Student Action for Refugees at Warwick University, Carlos spoke to 30 students and later addressed community activists in Birmingham.

He helped run a training day in Manchester, attended by 45 HOPE not hate activists, and in the same city attended a working breakfast hosted by the local Bishop and 20 priests and Church of England staff.

Carlos then went on to Leeds where he spoke to 70 people at a fantastic meeting organised by the Regional Asylum and Refugee network and hosted by the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust.

Back in London he spoke to almost 50 HOPE not hate supporters, to the Migrant Rights Network and had an informal meeting with a group of undocumented Latino and Filipino workers.

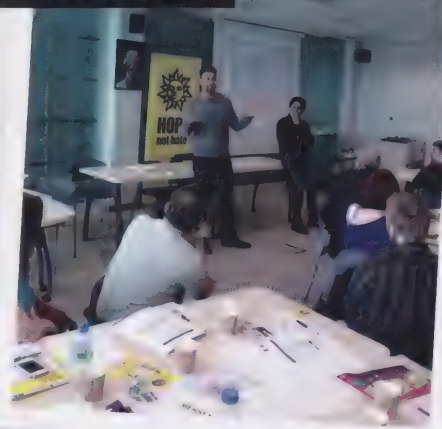
His final events were at the offices of the Paul Hamlyn Foundation, where he ran a training session with 50 young refugees and activists and spoke to a 60-strong crowd drawn from funding organisations and the wider immigration and refugee sector.

I think I speak for everyone who heard Carlos when I say that he and his story were inspirational. It made us realise that anything is possible if we put our minds to it and, as he repeatedly stressed, we got organised.

In addition to his meeting he was interviewed for *The Guardian*, *New Statesman* and *Huffington Post*.

To this end HOPE not hate is already in discussions with Carlos about establishing a training academy in the UK following the model he is setting up in the US.

Councillor Afzal Khan tells his story during our North West training day



Carlos with film maker Beeban Kidron at the Paul Hamlyn Foundation



Carlos with Kevin Maguire at the HOPE not hate dinner



Carlos speaking to activists in London



Carlos and some migrant workers with Katy Clark MP at the meeting in Parliament



Carlos speaking to asylum and refugee activists in Leeds

Stalingrad, the Holocaust and anti-fascism today

By Graeme Atkinson

2013 MARKS the 70th anniversary of the destruction by the Red Army and citizens of Stalingrad of Paulus' Nazi Sixth Army and its allies.

This momentous occasion closely followed one equally momentous, the anniversary of the Soviet liberation of the Auschwitz death camp in 1945. The two events are interlinked: without victory at Stalingrad, there might have been no liberation of Auschwitz.

The Holocaust was not the first 20th century genocide. The Turks murdered an estimated 1.5 million Armenians during the First World War. Hitler was familiar with this history and pondering his murderous plans for the Jews, even posed the question: "Who will remember the Armenians?"

If we are to remember the Holocaust properly, it is important we understand its specific motive: the implementation of racial theories proclaiming the inferiority of non-Germanic, non-Nordic peoples, in particular the Jews, Roma and Sinti, Poles and other Slavic peoples.

At Auschwitz and other death camps and in the killing fields of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, these people were murdered in their millions: an estimated six million Jews, an estimated 20 million Slavs and as many as half-a-million Roma and Sinti. In these same locations, others – political

opponents, homosexuals, and the mentally and physically handicapped – were also murdered, irrespective of alleged race.

Barbaric

What made these vile acts unique was that their Nazi perpetrators used the most modern industrial techniques of production and accounting for the barbaric purpose of destroying human life.

It does no honour whatsoever, however, to those slaughtered by the Nazi hordes to portray them merely as hapless victims. Horrific though the scale of fascist crimes was, they did not proceed without resistance.

Indeed, having perceived the brutality of the Nazi dictatorship, those who grasped its intentions fought Hitler and his cohorts with appropriate ferocity under the most adverse conditions imaginable.

It would be less than fitting if at least some of those courageous fighters were not mentioned today *inter alia*:

- the Baum Group, composed of Jewish and non-Jewish factory workers who organised sabotage and active wartime opposition in Berlin, the heart of Hitler's Reich
- the Jewish fighters in the Warsaw and Vilnius ghettos and Jewish partisan formations in the forests and marshes who delivered armed resistance to the SS and Wehrmacht

- other partisan groups, frequently composed of both Jews and non-Jews and frequently led by communists, who organised similar armed resistance. It should be noted that these resistance fighters were termed 'Jewish-Bolsheviks' to be "liquidated" on capture
- the dockers and factory workers of Rotterdam, who organised a general strike to oppose deportation of the Dutch Jews, the immigrant MOI-FTP movement in France, led by Armenians and immigrant Jews, who assassinated Nazi officers and sabotaged German military transport and the Red Orchestra spy ring
- and, finally, the biggest battalions of all: the Red Army, which turned the tide at Stalingrad and which, throughout the whole war, never engaged less than 75% of Germany's armed forces

Exterminations

To these must be added, of course, the Western allied forces whose war in the west and invasion of Europe in June 1944 spelled final doom for the Nazis.

Could the Holocaust have been avoided? We do not know but had the European powers challenged Hitler's 1936 march into the Rhineland or not actively hindered the fight of the International Brigades against Franco fascism in Spain, Hitler might not have felt so confident in launching

aggression and carry out the mass exterminations which followed.

It would also be less than honest on these important anniversaries if no reference were made to the failures of the USA and European powers to provide adequate refuge for Jews fleeing from fascism from 1933 onwards.

Those who today bandy about figures about immigrants and asylum seekers and publicly congratulate themselves for their "tough immigration policies" might remember the tragedy that ensued from the "tough policies" of their 1930s forerunners.

If we cannot change the past, we are at least obliged to learn from it and perhaps the biggest lesson of all – at a time when, in some European countries, fascism has broken out of its postwar marginalisation – is that it has to be opposed and destroyed, a lesson well understood by Hitler.

The crimes of fascism cannot be abstracted from the need to struggle against it. The torments suffered by tens of millions at the hands of the Nazis are the very reason to struggle against it.

Those who failed to act, looking the other way in the face of the hatreds, intolerances and prejudices that became rampant in the 1930s could genuinely claim that they had not known what the outcomes would be.

We, on the other hand, do know what happened and, therefore, do not have that luxury or excuse. ●

An unpleasant wake-up call?

Owen Jones on how a severed pig's head highlighted the true nature of a community protest group in Leicester

THE PLACING of a pig's head outside a Leicester community centre used by Muslim worshippers is the latest development in an escalating conflict which HOPE not hate reported on last year.

A group of far-right activists, largely from the English Defence League breakaway group, the East Midlands Infidels, have been hijacking sensitive local issues surrounding a former scout hut on the Thurnby Lodge estate in Leicester.

The disused Scout Hut is owned by the City Council and rented out to community organisations on a 25-year lease. This lease was up for renewal and in 2012 community groups were invited to present proposals.

Although 100 groups were invited to apply, only a handful was submitted and an application by the As-Salaam Trust to convert the hut into an Islamic Community Centre was accepted. The trust currently worships in a community centre near to the hut and has done so for a number of years.

Calling themselves the *Forgotten Estates of Thurnby Lodge and Netherhall*, a group headed by the self-proclaimed EDL activist Chris Hopewell, paraded around the estate trying to pass themselves off as a community lobbying group.



Liam Ferrer appearing at Leicester Magistrates' Court (right) The severed pig's head left outside Thurnby Lodge Community Centre

They successfully managed to capitalise on a blunder from local councillors who had cancelled a consultation meeting regarding the future of the hut. The meeting was cancelled first for a week but then indefinitely. This was the catalyst for the anger on the estate, whose residents have a history of believing that the city council does not care about them.

Cue months of Friday night protests outside of the community centre, in an obvious attempt to intimidate local Muslims who were using it for Friday prayers. The protests attracted the attention of the leading far-right groups in the area, such as Casual United and 212 Poison, as well as the BNP's Nick Griffin.

Although Forgotten Estates tried hard to present itself as peaceful, it was clear the weekly protests were turning sour with many local residents complaining of feeling increasingly unsafe, and the community centre reporting significant drops in attendance.

Since HOPE not hate last reported on this issue it appears that the Mayor of Leicester, Sir Peter Soulsby, has caved into pressure from Forgotten Estates, and not only handed over the scout hut to the group but also offered it funding, presumably in a misguided attempt try to dissipate the issue.

But the worst was still yet to come.

On Boxing Day 2012, as the members of As-Salaam headed to the community centre for their usual prayers, they were greeted at the door by a severed pig's head.

The pig's head had been placed there by Liam Ferrer, a leading member of the Forgotten Estates group who was responsible for liaising between the protestors and the police, making it very easy for the investigating officers to identify as the CCTV footage clearly showed the drunken Ferrer place the head by the

door late on Christmas Day.

The tearful Ferrer in court tried to pass off the incident as a drunken prank after he had been drinking heavily at a nearby party. However, he also admitted to storing the head at his home after acquiring it from a wedding party during the summer.

It only takes a small amount of inference to realise this case highlights some of the viler aspects of Forgotten Estates as Ferrer's obtaining of the pig's head coincides with the start of the protests, and seems a rather odd object to simply have stored at home.

The incident clearly shows the link between the Forgotten Estates group and far-right, Islamophobic activity in the area. Hopefully, this will act as a wake-up call to both the council and the local press to stop giving them credibility as a legitimate "community group".

MUSLIM PATROLS

by Nick Ryan

THE FOOTAGE was grainy, shot at night, with only one or two people in the frame. The voices off-camera were young and threatening, and their targets clearly confused – or afraid.

“You’re a gay mate, get out of here you fag ... don’t stay around here anymore!” they bayed, as a young man wearing make-up was harassed and followed down the street.

“No drink in this area, it’s a Muslim area,” mobbed the voices in another clip as a man was accosted and forced to pour away a can of beer.

In other so-called ‘Muslim Patrol’ videos, posted onto Youtube in January, young religious extremists can be heard harassing women wearing short skirts and targeting others across Whitechapel and London’s East End with “breaking Sharia law”.

Despite the mere handful of youths involved (half-a-dozen have been arrested so far, thought to be linked to offshoots of the extremist Al-Muhajiroun organisation [AM] based in Whitechapel) the videos soon went viral, similar in some respects to the more polished neo-Nazi ‘Immortals’ flash mob videos in Germany. It ensured that worldwide the East End of London was soon portrayed as some sort of Taliban-like battleground.

Almost true to form *The Daily Mail* quickly jumped on the reports (it had previously labelled local Muslim groups as ‘Tower Hamlets Taliban’) while *The Sun* and then *The Star* followed suit by helpfully giving AM leader Anjem Choudary yet another round of prominent coverage (Choudary is widely loathed by British Muslims).

Videos

Meanwhile, British and foreign far-right and counter jihadist groups such as the English Defence League (EDL), Pamela Geller and others wasted no time tweeting and linking the videos to their perverted ‘clash of civilisations’ narrative and as a recruiting tool for new followers.

But the actions of the self-styled ‘Muslim Patrols’ were more than just an attempt to impose Sharia in Muslim areas of London: they are part of a battle for Muslim opinion in Britain. If so, and despite the international film crews descending on Whitechapel, they have failed with Muslim groups such as the Muslim Council of Britain and others roundly condemning them.

“This is more about the Muslim community than non-Muslims. These people think they are making what they do attractive to young people,” said Salman Farsi, communications officer for the East London Mosque’s (ELM), close to where the videos were shot.

While certain bloggers attempted to draw links between the patrols and the ELM – one of Britain’s largest Islamic institutions – claiming that the mosque itself has fomented extremism, it was the mosque authorities who had most to lose from the Al-Muhajiroun presence.

Farsi said that it was his team which first noticed – and reported – the videos to the police and local council, as well as to Youtube (where the original videos were quickly removed). When ‘Sharia Controlled Zone’ and ‘Gay Free Zone’ stickers were flyposted around the mosque in 2011, it was ELM



The men behind the videos are believed to be followers of Al-Muhajiroun network like those above

volunteers who also reported them to police and ensured they were removed.

In fact, there has long been a struggle between Islamic groups in the area for the heart and soul of local youth and the Muslim community, with AM constantly pushing and proselytising right outside the ELM. AM’s parent organisation, Hizb ut-Tahrir, has also long-been hostile to the mosque’s allied Islamic Forum of Europe (IFE) pressure group. During hustings in 2006 George Galloway was attacked by AM members, developing into a full-scale brawl when his local Respect and IFE minders intervened to protect him.

Perhaps the most heartening response to the Patrols came from a local imam, Shyakh Shams Ad-Duha, a principle at the Whitechapel Islamic education centre, Ebrahim

College. He used a Youtube-recorded khutbah (sermon) to tackle the issue head-on:

“What these brothers need to understand is they will be accountable before Allah for doing these things, for damaging the image of Islam, and for misrepresenting the Sharia.

“These people must have thought ‘what in the world is going on here’. Some bloke comes up and goes ‘this is a Muslim area, you can’t drink’. I can’t even imagine – the guy’s completely stunned.

“What are the chances that this guy is gonna want to have anything to do with Islam in the future? That’s his chances of ever being interested in Islam, gone.”

Meanwhile, fresh footage has recently surfaced this month, recording young vigilantes saying the police and Christianity can “go to hell”.

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On the march

Péter Krekó in Budapest analyses the growing popularity of Jobbik in Hungary

IN RECENT YEARS, Hungary has become infamous for its far-right Movement for a Better Hungary, better known as Jobbik, and its paramilitary allies organised in the street armies of the 'Hungarian Guard'.

Jobbik is the most successful far-right party to emerge in the two decades following Hungary's transition from state socialism to free-market capitalism in 1989-1990. Founded as a political party in 2003, Jobbik's breakthrough year came in 2009, when it won 14.8% of the vote in the European parliamentary elections. A year later, the party received more than 855,000 votes in the Hungarian national election, finishing in third place, only 2.6%



Photos: Leigh Phillips

behind the previously ruling Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Párt or MSZP), with 16.7% of the vote.

Unlike many smaller parties, Jobbik has a strong organisation and has not experienced difficulties fielding sufficient candidates and collecting the necessary endorsement sheets to run in elections on a national and municipal level.

Even after membership loss in the coming months due to internal scandals, it will still be the third largest political party in Hungary (following the right-wing governing party Fidesz-KDNP and the biggest opposition party, the Socialists) with about 8-9% support in the overall population and 15-17% support among committed voters with party

preferences. Even if Jobbik has been unable to broaden its voter base since the 2010 elections, it is apparent that it now has a solid, committed, voter base.

Jobbik is different in several ways from the nationalist populist parties of Western Europe. Its ideology is strongly nationalistic, combining opposition to capitalism and liberalism with antisemitic and anti-Roma rhetoric.

Transition

And, as part of its antisemitic and anti-Zionist position – which is becoming more and more rare in Europe, the British National Party (BNP) being among the few counter-examples – Jobbik is openly pro-Palestinian and pro-Muslim, something

not typical among Western European far-right parties. This might, in part, be accounted for by the absence of a sizeable Muslim minority within Hungary.

The voter base of Jobbik is typically regarded in simplistic terms as the “losers of the transition” from communism: poor, unemployed, undereducated people with a previous preference for the Socialist Party.

However, the picture that we can accurately draw from surveys is just the opposite: a representative national survey in Hungary conducted by the Tárki Social Research Institute in 2011 and citing 240 professed Jobbik voters revealed that they were better educated than the majority of the population, they are better off than average and are mostly students or economically active.

Joint research by Demos UK and the Political Capital Institute, conducted among Facebook supporters of Jobbik in 2011, revealed similar but even more characteristic patterns: they are even younger, even more educated, even better off. They indicate much less worry about the inflation, for example, than can be seen in the national polls.

Supporters of Jobbik differ in significant ways when compared with similar groups in Western Europe. They are driven more by worries about Roma populations than immigration, are more pessimistic and are often antisemitic and pro-Muslim.

Also notable is that Jobbik supporters are more likely to agree that violence is acceptable to achieve the right outcome, although this does not mean they are personally violent.

Jobbik supporters exhibit extremely high levels of distrust in political parties, the mainstream media, and the legal system but this too reflects a national malaise. Eurobarometer also showed that the Hungarian public had among the lowest scores on these issues, too.

Students

Seen from this angle, Jobbik appears as a more amplified version of frustrations across Hungarian society (or indeed, even Eastern and Central European societies). It is clear from both studies that identity and its protection is a key driver of support for Jobbik. All of the current research on the party points in one direction: its supporters are motivated in large part by ideology and cultural considerations rather than economic ones.

Jobbik is especially attractive among young males. According to representative poll results from Tárki in 2011 and 2012, more than two-thirds of the party's supporters are male. Jobbik has 18% support in the overall 18-29 age group and 33% support among university students with party preferences.

According to the latter survey, Jobbik is currently the most popular political force among university students. And among the party's Facebook supporters, Jobbik fans are predominantly young men. More than 64% are under the age of 30 and 30 % are between the ages of 16 and 20.

This is an important difference between the Hungarian and, say, British far-right voters. While the BNP's voter base is supposedly typically the “blue collar angry white men”, middle-aged or older, working-class men with low levels of education, the supporters of Jobbik are typically young well-educated, well-off, young, middle-class people.

Obviously, Jobbik is a “generational” party in terms of the age of its leaders, its anti-system stance (which challenges the traditional definition of a political party), the language and style employed by the party and the radical messages it voices.

What are the reasons for Jobbik's success among young people? There are three possible overlapping explanations linked to subculture, communication



and symbolic politics.

Jobbik's success has been built on a highly modernised subculture which is especially active online. Jobbik – similarly with the Golden Dawn in Greece and in some way the EDL in the UK – has successfully created a fashionable youth sub-culture around the party, comprising music bands, night clubs, fashions and festivals to accompany its ideology – much of which is transmitted through the internet.

Brand

Far right radicalism not only spreads as an ideology, but as a fashion trend as well. It offers a chance for revolt and becomes a trend which can appeal primarily to young people. Today, far-right subculture not only has its own ideology but has a role as an intellectual elite playing the role of mediator.

With the deliberate use of the media (especially the internet and social media), leaders of the radical rightist community become widely known and, in some groups, gain large popularity, becoming genuine stars to an audience receptive to their ideas.

'National rock', for example, is very popular in Hungary. Bands such as Kárpátia and Hungarica with nationalist, irredentist lyrics have experienced genuine commercial success. The latter topped the Hungarian record sales list in 2009. This mix of popular culture and politics is circulated and shared online, fostering recruitment among young people.

In the field of communication, Jobbik has been particularly effective at mobilising young Hungarians by using online activity and information to amplify its message, recruit new members and organise.

With 55,000 Facebook 'likes', Jobbik has by far the most popular party page in Hungary (Facebook is the most widespread and popular social media website used in Hungary). The online social media following on Facebook

of Jobbik is much greater than its official membership size which, according to statements by its leaders, stands at around 13,000 members.

One reason for this online success is the age composition of Jobbik voters. Jobbik supporters spend more time online than supporters of any other party. Like many other young people across Europe, they use online channels as a form of political engagement, information and activism. Jobbik, with its young membership and leadership, has been good at plugging itself into this form of political involvement.

Media

A second reason is the constraint that is emerging from the dominantly hostile political and media environment. Jobbik has difficulties in delivering its messages via the mainstream media in a way that it would like and therefore is forced to be more efficient in online communication. According to the Demos UK/Political Capital survey mentioned above, Jobbik's online supporters are easily mobilised.

Jobbik Facebook fans are keen voters and demonstrators but not formal party members. More than four in five (82%) Jobbik Facebook fans report having voted for the party and 35% have attended a demonstration or protest but only 16% were formal party members. This means that this community is an active supporter that is just partially overlapping with the formal membership and increasing the mobilisation capacity of the party.

In more general terms, there is significant growth in the popularity of extreme right-wing media, especially online, in Hungary. One of the key characteristics of the Hungarian extreme right-wing scene is a vast, mostly internet-based, media empire.



Some of these media are openly fascist or nazi portals, but these are generally less popular than more moderate sites. There is only one portal that is explicitly tied to Jobbik – barikad.hu. A number of the other portals are sympathetic to Jobbik. At least one, kuruc.info, is an extremist website that is allegedly maintained anonymously by Jobbik activists and is extremely popular. There is also an extreme right web-based radio station, Szent Korona Rádió (Holy Crown Radio), which ranks in the top 10 among online radio stations.

Ideologically, more and more studies indicate that in Hungarian society there is a growing demand for chauvinistic, authoritarian and anti-establishment political ideologies and solutions. The young, unfortunately, are not excluded from this tendency, as some polls indicate a growing disillusionment with the democratic system, a growing admiration for authoritarian regimes and increasing prejudices among the youth and the university students. Hungarian society provides a fertile soil for the extreme-right to broaden its base.

Pluralism

If it is not material factors, what is it that propels such a wide range of voters toward the Jobbik party? An analysis by the social researcher Tamás Rudas argues that the ideological bond stems from "their difficulty in accepting the uncertainty entailed by the pluralism of values", a notion that is indeed discernible in the strongly

anti-liberal stance expressed by Jobbik and its supporters.

But middle-class young Jobbik supporters may also feel that their social status is simultaneously endangered from below, by those who are dragging down the better-off (the so-called "parasites" who live off state handouts, an ethnicised and racialised symbol of which are the Roma) and from above, by a tight-knit liberal and cosmopolitan elite group (symbolised by the Jews), which takes over all positions of leadership in the fields of the economy, finance, culture, the media and politics, and pushes those who aspire to become part of this elite downward.

The remedy offered by Jobbik to this alleged threat to identity is a vision of the nation that is strictly defined and homogeneous, both ethnically and in terms of its values.

For the Hungarian youth who, in a lot of cases, feel that their future and the country's is uncertain, the strong value-based community which Jobbik can provide may be extremely attractive.

Jobbik has been effective at employing the language of "freedom" and "democracy" in a way that appeals to these younger supporters, pressing its spurious claims that the proponents of "anti-national" liberal "hegemony" are the real enemies of freedom of speech.

● Péter Krekó is Director of the Political Capital Institute in Budapest and Co-chair, EU Radicalisation Awareness Network.

An unpleasant wake-up call?

**Ulyana Bobrova in
Moscow reports**

A YEAR AGO, the prospects for the extreme right in Russia started to look their most promising for some time.

The mass protests which followed the Russian parliamentary elections in December 2011 acted as a catalyst and offered those sections of the far-right willing to participate in a broad opposition alliance with liberal and leftist forces a clear option to expand their audiences and establish themselves as “honest” partners in the fight against election fraud and, more generally, against the Putin-Medvedev government.

Those who took up the ‘unity’ option may have been few in number but important figures on the far-right, even those darkly stained with extremist notoriety like Alexander Belov, Konstantin Krylov, Vladimir Tor or the nazi Dmitri Demushkin, have gained access to the opposition’s structures.

The extreme-right has had access to opposition platforms from the outset, a fact that only a few left-wingers, anti-fascists and human rights activists found objectionable.

The opposition’s leaders rejected criticism, arguing that a broad coalition of all opposition forces – including the far-right – is necessary to bring about political change in the country. Ideological disputes would lead to the already marginalised opposition being weakened.

The presence of right-wing extremists belonging to Belov and Demushkin’s fascist Russkiye Movment, Aleksandr Khramov’s nascent National Democratic Party and New Power (Novaya Sila) nationalists led by Valeriy Solovey, a professor at the University of Moscow’s prestigious State Institute of International Relations, has remained modest.

With just 1,000 supporters, the far-right was lost and inconspicuous in the mass protests. Their aggressive behaviour and attempts to storm platforms have also damaged their image rather than help them win supporters.

Compromises

Russkiye has organised solidarity activities for the nazi Nikolai Korolev whose 2006 bomb attack on a Moscow market cost 13 people their lives. While he bitterly criticises his supporters for their compromises with the liberal opposition, the presence of the extreme-



right in that same opposition provided the state-run media with a welcome opportunity to discredit anti-government mass protests.

Debates about political prisoners in Russia, unleashed by mass protests, have led to a recognition of so-called right-wing civil rights activists. The celebrated human rights organization Memorial has twice invited Natalya Kholmogorova to meetings on Russia’s extremism laws. Kholmogorova is a co-founder with Krylov of the Russian Social Movement which stands against “anti-Russian” discrimination.

However, the far-right has not been able to expand its social base nor emerge with stable political coalitions. On the contrary, the ‘Russian march’ in November 2012 was a broad hotchpotch of nationalist, patriotic, right-wing and *völkisch* groups whose interests and rivalries put them too far apart to create a common agenda.

A key problem for the right is the same as for the left and liberal opposition forces: the Kremlin continues to refuse opposition access to the political establishment, and the simplification of rules for official party registration at a national level are unlikely to change that.

At local level, however, a fruitful co-operation between right-wing groups and official administrative structures has been established, especially in the treatment of immigrants, an issue which Demushkin and his allies are profiling with some success.

The far-right “patriotic youth movement”

Svetlana Rus has been calling on journalists in Moscow to take part in raids in which the basements of apartment blocks in the city centre are searched and immigrants hiding there are handed over to the police.

Demonstrations

The basements are often rented out to illegal immigrants by municipal property officials. Needless to say, the business is lucrative in the intense Moscow apartment market, even if living conditions in these basements are anything but comfortable.

Svetlana Rus activists run around with documents, issued by the local authorities, that identify them as Volunteer Guardians of Public Order (OPOP). Although OPOP’s powers are restricted to calling in offences to the police, the ID cards give them a formal status. Representatives of the Migration Service, who are also present at the raids, vehemently deny any contact with Svetlana Rus.

Finally, a new tendency to amalgamate a right-wing extremist mindset with anarchist elements has been making itself felt for some time, especially in Moscow and St Petersburg. The group Volnitsa (Libertines), for example, presents itself as a non-conformist people’s movement dedicated to fighting against the system, to “revolutionary” culture and to “national anti-capitalist protest”.

In some of the large-scale demonstrations over the past year, Volnitsa has even managed to place itself directly behind the traditional anarchist contingents.

FRANCE Marine's mainstream quest reshapes far-right

From Jean-Yves Camus in Paris

IN FRANCE'S 2012 presidential election, Front National (FN) leader, Marine Le Pen, polled 17.9% of the vote (almost 6.5 million voters), an all-time record and proof again that, far from being a spent force or mere protest movement, the FN is still the third political party in the country.

It is far behind the Socialist Party and the conservative Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP) but ahead of the centre-right, the alternative Left and the Greens.

The FN, founded in 1972, remains first choice for working-class voters (29%) and retains a significant base among shopkeepers and the professions (26%), as well as among white-collar voters (21%). Marine Le Pen grabbed 19% of the youth vote and succeeded in narrowing the

'gender gap'. Only those with a university degree and a monthly income above 3,000 euro definitely turn their back on the FN.

The reasons for the voters' choice have changed little since the FN emerged from the political fringe in the mid-1980s. They are: opposition to non-European immigration, giving the French priority in the labour market and subsidised housing, cutting off welfare for foreigners, a deep distrust of the political class and established political parties, and opting out of the European Union.

Marine Le Pen has been clever enough to adapt her rhetoric to the newest trend in xenophobia, a rejection of multiculturalism and Islamophobia.

The FN has changed the French political and ideological landscape but has

a long way to go before it can become a junior partner in local or national government. It remains ostracised by the leaders of the UMP.

Liability

Le Pen's father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, now an honorary FN chairman, and her rival for the party leadership, Bruno Gollnisch, want the FN to be an umbrella organization for the extreme-right. Marine Le Pen, however, has a different approach, knowing that nazis, Holocaust-deniers and even Catholic fundamentalists have scant support among voters and are a liability. She severed ties with the Alliance of European National Movements (AENM), now in the hands of Gollnisch, and joined the European Alliance for Freedom (EAF), which focuses on Euroscepticism. She has also repudiated

antisemitism.

When, in her quest to become mainstream, Marine Le Pen threw the most hardline fascists out of the FN, some believed their time had come. However, all attempts at building an alternative to FN have foundered partly because there is no leader who has Le Pen's charisma, media coverage or ability to address a broad range of issues which affect the average voter's daily life.

Splinter movements – Nouvelle Droite Populaire and Parti de la France – which promote the ideology of the 'old' FN are unable to poll more than 1-2% of the vote. The most innovative attempt at contesting elections while focusing on the long-term dissemination of ethno-differentialism ideas comes from the Bloc identitaire (BI),

FRANCE KEY FACTS

Parties contesting the elections

■ Front National (FN)

Extreme-right political party founded 1972.
Membership: 60,000
2012 Presidential election: 6,421,426 votes 17.9%
2012 Parliament election: 3,528,663 votes 13.6% 2 seats
The FN holds three seats in the European Parliament
Press: No official printed organ. Unofficial quarterly magazine with online version, *Nation Presse Magazine*.
Youth organisation is Front national de la Jeunesse (FNJ) – membership never exceeded 1,800.

■ Parti de la France (PDF)

Established 2009 by the former FN number two Carl Lang. PDF remains true to the ideology of FN under Jean-Marie Le Pen and has links with the MNR and NDP (see below).

■ Mouvement National Républicain (MNR)

The MNR is moribund, occasionally publishing its magazine *Le Chêne*. It polled 2.5% of the vote in two areas where it contested the 2010 regional elections.

■ Nouvelle Droite Populaire (NDP)

Established 2008 by Robert Spieler and Roland Hélie. NDP began as member of the Cities against Islamisation network. Elections results: see above. The NDP quarterly journal is *Synthèse nationale*.

■ Bloc identitaire (BI)

President is Fabrice Robert. The 1,000-strong movement became high-profile through the internet. It is ethno-nationalist and supports regionalist movements. In 2010, it won 2.7% in Provence and 4.98% in Alsace. The BI also operates under the name Génération identitaire. It has

an irregular magazine, *Identitaires*. Unofficial website: Novopress.

Extra-parliamentary organisations

■ Oeuvre française (OF) and Jeunesses nationalistes (FN)

OF founded in 1969, its chairman is Yvan Benedetti. Jeunesses nationalistes was founded in 2011. Its head, Alexandre Gabriac, is a regional councillor in Rhône-Alpes. They follow the same ideological lines: neo-fascism and strident antisemitism in the guise of anti-Zionism and racism. Unofficial irregular publication: *Militant*.

■ Troisième voie

National-revolutionary (Third way) movement led Serge Ayoub: several hundred members and publishes *Salut public*. It runs a Paris meeting point for extreme-right gatherings – Le Local – and focuses on recruiting among the

working-class. Followers in the Pas de Calais have moved into a former mining neighbourhood to develop a militant communitarian lifestyle.

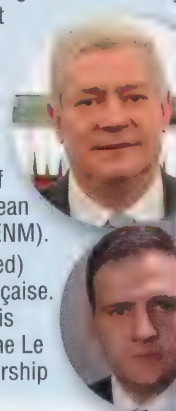
Extra-parliamentary organisations

Jean-Marie Le Pen: Founder and past president of FN. Euro-MP since 1984. Began politics as a Poujadist (Populist) MP in 1956.

Marine Le Pen: Euro-MP and city council member of working-class town of Hénin-Beaumont in northern France.

Bruno Gollnisch: (pictured) European MP and former FN deputy leader. Questions the Holocaust and is chair of fascist Alliance of European National Movements (AENM).

Yvan Benedetti: (pictured) Chairman of Oeuvre française. FN member 2005 until his exclusion in 2011 (Marine Le Pen forbids dual membership





the core of the "Identity" movement.

Locally, several BI branch leaders are trying to secure seats in the 2014 city council elections by pushing for a deal between themselves and the FN. The FN leadership has rejected this offer on the grounds that the BI stands for the devolution of political powers to regions where linguistic minorities live, as well as promoting a 'Europe

of ethnic States' incompatible with Le Pen's worship of the nation state.

Skinheads

The skinhead movement has become irrelevant in France. The two most active groups are the Hammerskins, which have a shop and meeting place in Toul (Lorraine) and the Fraternité des Artamans in the eastern France/Lyon area. A new trend, though, is

the emergence of unaffiliated bonehead groups in working-class neighbourhoods of semi-rural areas such as the Picard Crew in Picardy and Front comtois in Besançon.

Former Paris skin leader, Serge Ayoub (pictured right), who has been in the scene since the '80s, is trying to establish his movement, Troisième voie, as a rallying point for these elements. There is bitter competition

with him for the leadership of the radical extreme-right from the twin organisations Oeuvre française and Jeunesses nationalistes, for whom street action and political violence are the chosen path.

It should be remembered that France is one of the few countries where the Society of St Pius X, founded by the late Catholic Bishop Marcel Lefebvre, retains a significant membership numbering tens of thousands. The main Catholic fundamentalist movement, Civitas, spearheads demonstrations against gay marriage and, under the leadership of Alain Escada, has also been prominent in repeated campaigns against 'Christianophobia'.



of the two movements.) A key activist in the Lyon area; city councillor in Vénissieux.

Fabrice Robert: Leader of Bloc identitaire. Former member of the national-revolutionary Troisième voie and Unité radicale, then briefly FN. Publicly repudiated his past as a skinhead activist, antisemite and Holocaust denier.

Media sold on news stands nationwide

Présent: Catholic Traditionalist (pro-Vatican) nationalist daily.

Rivarok: A fascist, 'anti-Zionist' and Holocaust-denying weekly.

Réfléchir et Agir: National revolutionary quarterly. Sympathetic to Casa Pound experiment in Italy.

Monde et Vie: Catholic traditionalist (pro-Lefebvrist) bi-monthly.

Minute: Conveys FN's ideas, promoting an alliance of nationalists.

MAP

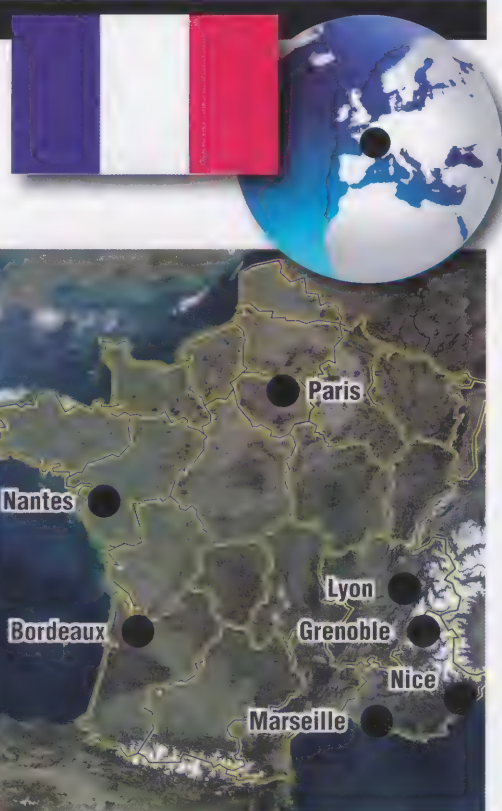
Paris FN vote lower than national average (6.2% in 2012). Most important Catholic fundamentalist church in France: Saint Nicolas du Chardonnet. Six extremist bookshops – one devoted to Holocaust denial. The FN's national HQ is in nearby Nanterre.

Lyon Local FN key man Bruno Gollnisch now moved to Provence and might contest 2014 local election in Nice. Oeuvre française/Jeunesses nationalistes active. The violent, nazi student Groupe Union Defense – branches in Paris and Lyon – cooperates with OF/JN, as does Artam Brotherhood/Fraternité des Artamans, a Blood & Honour-oriented nazi group.

Marseille Marine Le Pen polled 21% in this traditional FN stronghold. Success comes from issues like crime, corruption and North African immigration in a region where repatriated settlers from Algeria represent significant population. The FN's two MPs were elected in the neighbouring départements of Gard and Vaucluse.

Nice FN vote in 2012: 23.5%. Stronghold of Bloc identitaire, led locally by Philippe Vardon with permanent HQ and bookshop there.

Bordeaux, Nantes, and Grenoble Far-right bookshops in these cities.



English Nationalist Resistance

A NEW UMBRELLA group, called the English Nationalist Resistance, has been founded by Jim Dowson's Britain First and the English Democratic Party's Robin Tilbrook, and seeks to replace the EDL as Britain's counter-Jihad street movement.

The tie-up between Dowson's two business interests and the Essex EDL breakaway group the South East Alliance (SEA) will antagonise not only the EDL's Stephen Lennon, but also the BNP's Nick Griffin, who has also been attempting to get something similar off the ground.

Late last year Dowson linked up with the English Democratic Party, teetering on the brink of bankruptcy, to fundraise for them in the same way he did previously for the BNP, before departing acrimoniously in 2010. At every turn the BNP has made since, Dowson has utilised his own offices to try and strangle them financially.

In September last year, as Nick Griffin made his play for the fractured remnants of the EDL, Dowson threw his hat in the ring. Launching an appeal for the imprisoned

EDL leader Stephen Lennon, he also launched crippling legal actions against the EDL's political wing, the British Freedom Party (BFP). This led to that party's near collapse and eventual demise.

Desperately short of cash and members, the ED leader Robin Tilbrook gave Dowson the legal advice necessary to split the EDL and BFP in the desperate hope the EDP would be the main political beneficiary.

Protests

In October 2012, Dowson's off-sider Paul Golding led a tiny group of activists in a rare outing for BF, in an anti-Muslim protest outside Parliament where the group burned a Saudi flag in front of bemused tourists. Among the 12 activists present was Paul Pitt, the then in-dispute leader of Essex EDL, and half a dozen of his followers.

Pitt was fighting a war inside the EDL. Pre-empting Pitt's final, acrimonious departure from the EDL, Carroll launched an attack on Pitt's faction in an angry Christmas message, writing off the Pitt faction – bizarrely – as “muggy mushrooms”.

A popular and confrontational street leader, Pitt found himself not only courted by both Britain First, but also the BNP. He launched his own ‘South East Alliance’ (SEA) as a direct rival to the EDL with a string of attacks on the EDL leadership.

In January, Dowson, who has been one of the driving forces behind the flag protests in Northern Ireland,

threw all of his English eggs into one basket, funding and flying in for a meeting in Kent between the English Dems, Britain First and Pitt's South East Alliance.

Loyalists

Dowson is attracted to Pitt because like himself, he likes to antagonise former comrades. At the end of January, the English National



ENR'S MAIN AIMS

- Militant campaigning and “direct action”.
- “Defence” of English “values”.
- Demonstrate and protest nationally against the perceived “politically correct enemies” of the country.
- Building a “disciplined” street movement
- Promoting “Christian” values
- Anti-immigration and anti-Islam
- Promote the electoral ambitions of the English Democratic Party

**For information
on other hate
groups visit www.hopenothate.org.uk/hate-groups/**

AL QATADA

AFTER A SERIES of demonstrations outside the home of the recently-released alleged hate preacher Al Qatada, Britain First and South East Alliance found themselves in the Royal Courts of Justice after writs were issued to desist on behalf of the family

Writs were issued to a host of groups including the EDL, who dropped out of the protests when the SEA muscled them out. Jim Dowson avoided a writ by hiding behind a maze of legal shields, but both Golding and Pitt found themselves in court, with Golding quoting Latin to bemused supporters.





Resistance (ENR) was launched, a collaboration of the Britain First, English Dems and Pitt's SEA under one umbrella. Dowson's plan is to form an advisory



body similar to that in the Orange Lodge which makes appointments to the group and edicts for the 'movement' to follow.

In February, Dowson flew to London, this time for the ENR's flag protest in Whitehall. Teaming up with the SEA, some ex-EDL and current BNP members. Pitt and his motley crew conducted a drunken sing-song in nearby pubs, though Pitt refused to fly the ENR banner, preferring the SEA's banner instead.

Also present were a number of high-profile mainland Loyalists, including former gun runner Frank Portinari, though he did not take part in the protest.

The tiny English Volunteer Force (EVF) joined the ENR in February and former EDL number three Tony Curtis was also appointed as national organiser at the same time. While Lennon and Kevin Carroll continue to attempt to overcome their legal difficulties, Pitt, Tilbrook and Dowson now run what is left of the street protest movement outside of the north of England.



LEADING SUPPORTERS



Paul Golding The former BNP 'young gun' and editor of party magazine, Identity, quit Sevenoaks council in May 2011 after being accused by residents of "doing nothing" for them since his election in 2009. Now fronts Jim Dowson's Britain First after initially leading the National People's Party, another Dowson front group.



Jim Dowson Controversial and divisive figure on the far-right who promotes himself as having the 'Midas touch' to raise funds for extremist parties. Former BNP fundraiser who lives in Northern Ireland where he has been a major player in the flag protests. Also runs several anti-abortion organisations.

Paul Pitt Real name Paul Prodromou, joined the EDL in 2009, quickly rising to be both the Essex and south East organiser of the group. Popular and combative, Pitt was one of the lead figures to criticise the EDL leadership after the Walthamstow disaster in September 2012.



Eddie Stamton Violent criminal and neo-Nazi who used to run with former C18 leader Charlie Sargent. Has apparently fallen into heavy drinking and issuing threats to former EDL colleagues, similarly to how he spent his time in the NF, BNP, C18, WNP, BM, Blood & Honour



Tony Curtis Nottinghamshire-based Curtis got close enough to Lennon and Carroll while in the EDL to be considered the third most senior in the organisation. However, he soon quit claiming he felt ignored and isolated by the cousins, in particular when they drove off and left him at the group's disastrous Walthamstow demonstration.



Friends for dinner

Ruth Smeeth



If you would like to join us at future events become a Friends of HOPE not hate at www.hopenothate.org.uk/friend



(above (left) Speech Debele addresses the audience at the HOPE not hate dinner

IN MID-FEBRUARY, HOPE not hate hosted our first-ever Friends of HOPE not hate dinner, with Mercury Award winner, Speech Debele. 130 people joined us at a restaurant in central London for a good meal and great company.

All friends of HOPE not hate were invited and many of our long term supporters took tables at the dinner, including trade unions.

In the run-up to the event, an online Twitter rivalry about the auction took place, between our own Matthew Collins and associate Editor of the *Daily Mirror*, Kevin Maguire, about which of them would raise more money. In the end it was a close-run thing, with Kevin pipping Matthew with the final bid!

A highlight of the evening was the culmination of our Community Champions Award, held in partnership with the *Daily Mirror*. Four of our winners joined us from around the country to receive their awards from the Editor of the *Daily Mirror*, Peter Willis. The winners on the night were:

■ **Shamshad Iqbal:** Shamshad works in the heart of Newcastle's West End with girls and young women from across different ethnic and faith groups. She worked as a youth worker for the City Council for 25 years and continues to work with young people.

■ **Chris Keene:** Chris lives and works in one of the most deprived communities in Burnley. He has worked tirelessly to improve the area and provide a future for local kids. He runs a youth club and is involved in a project to provide meals for families in these austere times. He has organised cross community activity in the town which has helped undermine racial tensions.

■ **Zeinab Mohammed:** Zeinab came to the UK and moved to Manchester as an asylum seeker from war-torn Somalia with her four children. She was a founder of RAPAR, a refugee support agency in Manchester. She has worked on promoting health awareness within many BME communities, particularly sexual health awareness. Zeinab is currently employed by the Wai Yin Chinese Women Society and promotes cultural awareness across communities.

■ **Sajda Mughal:** Sajda is the only known Muslim survivor from the 7/7 London bombings.

Our community champion winners with the *Daily Mirror*'s Peter Willis and Kevin Maguire



Since the 7/7 bombings she noticed a rise in Islamophobia and racism and decided that something had to be done to combat this, as well as violent extremism. She wanted to encourage dialogue, community relations and cohesion between Muslims and non-Muslims. Sajda joined JAN Trust (www.jantrust.org) in London, concentrating on community relations and countering violent extremism.

We would like to thank everyone for coming and especially our Community Champions. ●



White power music culture out of tune

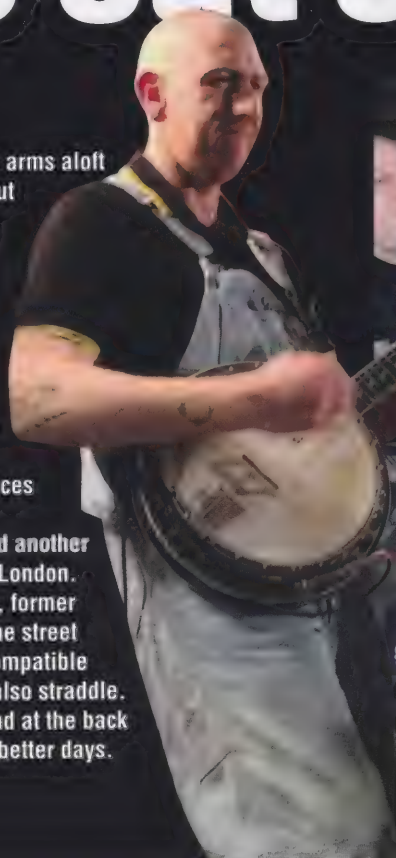
By Matthew Collins

AGEING MEN AND WOMEN, tattooed torsos and thick arms aloft in the air as wave after wave hate lyrics are belted out from the stage. Nearly 30 years after being founded in Britain, Blood & Honour, the Nazi music network umbrella, ambles along.

Across the world as hate rock continues to grow, in Britain the ageing exponents of music as a Nazi weapon stagger on.

In May, a Greek band will join Czech bands in coming to the UK as part of an international drive to reignite the far-right music scene in the land of its birth. It will attract a few hundred only, mainly old faces who feel nostalgic.

In January, the British section Blood & Honour held another one of its secret gigs in a bikers' clubhouse in north London. The scene here is split between hard core neo-Nazis, former members of Combat18 and an Oi!/punk crossover. The street fighting lads of the EDL find this music dreary, not compatible with the designer drug and dance scene which they also straddle. The National Front and British Movement hang around at the back of the rooms, selling their wares as they too lament better days.



Elections 2013

The threat may have diminished but there is still a job of work to do this year. Ruth Smeeth sets out the 2013 HOPE not hate campaign

2012 WAS a disastrous year for the British far-right at the ballot box. With your help we managed to ensure that they were wiped out in Burnley (on Burnley Borough Council) for the first time since 2002, and that they failed to get an Assembly Member re-elected to City Hall in London. However, we need to keep the momentum going this year in order to make sure we can deliver the knockout blow in 2014, when we make sure that the BNP lose their foothold in Europe and at the ballot box.

Our efforts against the BNP this year focus on county council elections on 2 May. The BNP will be defending one seat on Lancashire County Council (Padiham & Burnley West) and will be fighting hard to make a gain in Pendle Central, where the BNP still have a borough councillor and only just missed out on holding onto a second seat last year.

Although the BNP have until the beginning of April to declare their candidates we believe they are likely to wage campaigns in:

- Cumbria
- Lancashire
- Warwickshire
- Leicestershire
- Northamptonshire
- Staffordshire
- Worcestershire
- Essex
- Surry
- West Sussex
- East Sussex
- Derbyshire

The BNP have made it clear that their priorities in addition to Lancashire will be Leicestershire and Derbyshire. In Leicestershire the BNP are hoping to build on the success of the far-right on the Thurnby Lodge estate and the Forgotten Estates anti-Muslim campaign.

In Derbyshire the BNP's priority is Heanor Central, which has been a traditional hub of far-right activity in the 2009 County Council elections the BNP polled 30% of the vote.

Campaigning beyond the BNP

However, the BNP are not the electoral force they once were and we are going to see several other parties jockeying for the same votes. In Lincolnshire, the English Democrats will be trying to consolidate their success in local borough elections, as well as launching strong campaigns in Leicestershire, Hertfordshire and Essex. We also expect to see them wage campaigns in the South East and East Anglia. In total the English Democrats are aiming to stand more than 395 candidates in order to secure a televised party election broadcast.

But the county council elections are not the only elections happening on 2 May. We also need to get ready for two Mayoral contests.

In Doncaster the current Mayor, Peter Davies, was elected under the English

Democrat banner and has sparked controversy from day one, including praising the Taliban – “The one thing to be said about the Taliban is that they do have an ordered society of some sort and that they don't have hundreds of cases of children under threat of abuse from violent parents, as we have in Doncaster.”

Despite the fact that government has imposed a new management structure on the council, including a new chief executive and three commissioners, due to the failings of the Mayor's administration and Peter Davies' subsequent resignation from the English Democrats in February this year, he will be seeking re-election as an independent. In addition, it is likely that both the BNP and the newly-constituted British Democrat Party (BDP) – Andrew Brons' new party – will also contest the election.

The Mayoral contest in North Tyneside is also likely to be contested by the BDP, as well as by the BNP and the National Front.

What can you do?

HOPE not hate is running campaigns in each of the key areas where the far right are hoping to either consolidate their position or gain new ground. Our big weekend of action is 13/14 April (for more information check-out the back page or email



matt@hopenothate.org.uk). In Cumbria we are targeting the following weekend: 20/21 April.

In partnership with the Daily Mirror we will be distributing thousands of targeted tabloid newspapers in local communities as well as running local cross-community campaigns building coalitions against the hate promoted by the BNP and their ilk.

In addition, we have a series of generic materials on the BNP, BDP, and the English Democrats for general use by local groups in the run-up to election days (for copies of these leaflets contact ruth@hopenothate.org.uk).

Nick Griffin is viewing these elections as a stepping stone to his own re-election to the European Parliament. By marginalising their vote we really will be putting another nail in the BNP's coffin and making sure that his chances of re-election in 2014 are only a pipe-dream. If you could spare even an hour to help us in any of the key areas then you really will be helping us in the battle to wave goodbye to Nick Griffin and the BNP once and for all. ●

2013 is an election year with polls contested in

27 County Councils

8 single-tier Unitary Authorities

2 mayoral elections

Join HOPE not hate days of action for more details see www.hopenothate.org.uk

ALLERDALE

Sunday 21 April, 11am

Workington Railway Station,
Station Road CA14 2UZ
matt@hopenothate.org.uk

PENDLE

**Saturday 13 April
10.30am and 1pm**

Primet Hill Community
Centre, Primet Hill,
Colne BB8 9NF
matt@hopenothate.org.uk

COPELAND

Saturday 20 April, 10.30am

Whitehaven train station
CA28 6AX
matt@hopenothate.org.uk

NORTH TYNESIDE

To be confirmed
northeast@hopenothate.org.uk

SHOTTON, COUNTY DURHAM

To be confirmed
northeast@hopenothate.org.uk

BURNLEY

**Sunday 14 April
10.30am and 1pm**

St Marks Church Hall,
(Just Behind St Marks
Church), Rossendale Road,
Burnley BB11 5DQ
jason@hopenothate.org.uk

DONCASTER

**Saturday 13 April
11am onwards**

Meet Church View Centre,
Doncaster
DN1 1AF
pmezzi@yahoo.co.uk

COALVILLE

Sunday 14 April, 10:30am

Marlborough Square,
Outside The Monkey Walk
LE67 3WD
owen@hopenothate.org.uk

BOSTON

Saturday 13 April, 10.30am

Boston Rail Station
(ASDA side) PE21 3RN
owen@hopenothate.org.uk

NUNEATON

Saturday 13 April, 10:45am

Meeting Point: Tesco
Express, Croft Road
CV10 7DP
owen@hopenothate.org.uk

SYSTON

Saturday 13 April, 11am

Syston Rail Station
LE7 2HA
asm26@student.le.ac.uk

HEANOR

To be confirmed
owen@hopenothate.org.uk

Sajda Mughal accepting her HOPE not
hate community champion award from
Daily Mirror editor Peter Willis



Changing hearts and minds

Sajda Mughal was the only known Muslim victim of the 7/7 bomb attacks. Head of recruitment for an investment bank, 7 July 2005 was a day that changed her life. She left her job to dedicate her life to work against extremism. By Ros Wynne-Jones.

WHEN THREE would-be suicide bombers were found guilty of terrorism charges last month, Sajda Mughal felt herself shiver. On July 7, 2005, she was on the Piccadilly line train passing between King's Cross and Russell Square stations when 19-year-old Germaine Lindsay detonated his bomb.

The day became known as 7/7. Sajda was the only Muslim survivor below ground.

"To hear the men convicted this week wanted to cause something worse than 7/7 or 9/11 appals me," she says. "It appals me as a survivor of July 7 but also as a Muslim. What those men intended has nothing to do with Islam."

Sajda's story begins like so many survivors. "I didn't get on my usual carriage that day," she says.

Had she got into the one behind the driver, where Lindsay sat with his rucksack, she might have been among the 52 people killed that morning – 27 of them on the Piccadilly line.

"I think about what happened every single day," Sajda says. "The work I do now is the only way I have to make sense of it all."

The events derailed Sajda's life. A City high flier, at just 22 she was on her way to her job as head of recruitment at an investment bank near Liverpool Street. After 7/7, she resigned and went to work for a women's charity.

Last month, her achievements as director of the JAN Trust, working to prevent young people becoming involved in extremism, won her a Community Champion Award from HOPE not hate.

The judges said: "Her personal journey truly represents hope defeating hate."

The convictions of Irfan Naseer, 31, Irfan Khalid, 27, and Ashik Ali, 27, shows how much work still needs doing.

Challenging hate of all kinds, including Islamophobia, Sajda speaks in schools, often alongside survivors of the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide. And what she hears from students demonstrates her work is vital.

"Sometimes, even after I tell my story, kids say they understand why the bombers did it."

Before that July morning, Sajda had given little thought to violent extremism. The daughter of Ugandan-Asian parents who escaped Idi Amin, she had been a Londoner since she was one year old.

The morning of July 7, Sajda had been running late. Wood Green, her nearest Tube station, was closed and she'd had to walk to Turnpike Lane. Sajda shouldn't have been on Germaine Lindsay's train at all.

"I got to the platform and jumped on the nearest carriage," she remembers. "I would usually have turned right to the front of the train to make sure I got a seat."

She was planning to change lines at Holborn but at 8.50am, as the train passed between King's Cross and Russell Square, Lindsay detonated his bomb.

"There was a massive, massive bang and the train jolted," Sajda says. "People sitting down were thrown out of their seats, people standing fell over. The lights went out and emergency lights came on."

"I think about what happened every single day ... The work I do now is the only way I have to make sense of it all"

"There was black smoke filling the carriage so it was hard to breathe. There was no announcement and we didn't know what was happening. People were shouting and screaming and banging on the doors, some were having panic attacks. People were trying to break the unbreakable glass but we were still encased in the tunnel.

"I was in complete shock. I thought, this is it – we are actually going to die.

"I thought we had been derailed and that the next train would hit us in a massive collision. I thought how I hadn't said goodbye to my family and I hadn't seen the world.

"There was blood everywhere. We were

covered in sweat and this thick black smoke."

For 45 minutes nothing happened, just smoke and panic. Sajda thought of her boyfriend, Ahmed, and her mum.

She says: "It felt like hours, like a lifetime. We were suffocating with the smoke. Then we started to hear the police and firefighters, saying: 'We're coming to get you, we're coming.'"

The rescue party led them slowly through the smoke-filled tunnel.

"Outside it was chaos. The emergency services were treating the people who were really injured but there were lots of us just walking about in shock.

"People were staring at us. I went into the toilets at McDonald's and realised I was black with the smoke."

Sajda had no idea she'd been in a terrorist attack. The news on the TV was still calling it a derailment.

"I tried to call work and my family but there was no signal," she says. "There was no transport so I started walking home really slowly. I walked for hours."

Her mum by now believed she was dead.

By the time she got home at 2.30pm, a series of suicide bombs were being reported – and Sajda first heard that Muslims were suspected.

"I couldn't comprehend it," she says.

"Islam teaches you to respect life, not even to harm an ant – how could you harm a human being in the name of Islam?"

Post-7/7, she saw the world change.

"I could see racism and Islamophobia growing around me," she says. "My mum wears a headscarf and on the Tube people wouldn't sit next to us. There was graffiti, people would say things."

Deeply affected, Sajda decided to leave the City and work with the JAN Trust.

"I thought if you could change the heart and mind of even one person you could start a domino effect."

Eight years on, married to Ahmed and expecting their second child, July 7 remains at the heart of her life.

"It's behind everything I do. When someone tells me their child was part of that extremist group but they managed to turn him away with our help, that drives me to work even harder," she says. ●

H^{PE} not hate

weekend of action

13/14 April

**Nuneaton, Leicestershire, Boston, Amber Valley, Lancashire,
Doncaster, Cumbria, County Durham, North Tyneside**

For more information, visit: www.hopenothate.org.uk

